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IN MEMORIAM

The sudden death in June of Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor of New York has deprived the Hispanic American Historical field of one of its most ardent, enthusiastic, and intelligent workers and producers. Confining herself almost exclusively to the history of early Spanish Florida, she made herself the successor of Buckingham Smith and Woodbury Lowery; and possessing to an unusual degree the sense of the dramatic (held in check by her love of accuracy) she made of her early Florida a living reality. Her interest in Florida's history led her in 1921 to found, in conjunction with Mr. John B. Stetson, Jr., the Florida State Historical Society, of which she became vice-president and councilor. She caused many thousands of transcripts to be made in the Library of Congress and other institutions in the United States, and both transcripts and photostats in the Archivo de Indias, in Seville. Beginning her publication of Florida materials in 1923, with the translation into English of the *Memorial of Solis de Merás*, she followed this up in 1925 with the first (1570-1577) of a series of "Colonial Records of Spanish Florida", and in 1927 with a facsimile of Jean Ribaut's *The whole & true Discoverye of Terra Florida* (London, 1563), all of which were brought out by the Florida State Historical Society. She left unfinished the second volume of the above series and the letters of

Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, the founder of St. Augustine; and a history of the Franciscan missions of Florida, which was to appear in two volumes. She herself was the owner of the old Franciscan mission to the Jororo Indians near New Smyrna, which she had made available to the public; and was most active in the purchase and preservation by the Florida State Historical Society of the most prominent shell mound in Florida, the celebrated Turtle Mound. Plans are being made to complete as thoroughly as possible the unfinished work of Mrs. Connor. In all her work is visible her love of historical accuracy and scholarliness. One might almost say that Florida loses in her its greatest single asset.

MIRANDA'S TESTAMENTARY DISPOSITIONS

I

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1922, while examining the memorabilia of Francisco de Miranda in the estate office of Lord Bathurst at Cirencester the writer discovered papers which illuminate many obscure pages of history.¹ Not of least importance to students of Hispanic-American history were certain testamentary dispositions composed by Miranda. As the writer supplemented these documents by papers that he found in the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury at Somerset House, London, he is able to present inedited material which will suggest solutions for puzzling problems of Miranda's career. This family of documents will not only shed light upon the disposal of Miranda's property but also upon his disputed private relationships.

Francisco de Miranda was born at Caracas, Venezuela, on March 28, 1750.² After attending the University of Caracas, he left his native land for Spain. He fought under the Spanish flag against African Moslems and served in Peninsular garrisons. In the spring of 1780, after a treaty with France had drawn Spain into the American Revolution, Miranda sailed for the West Indies in a Spanish expedition that was destined to coöperate with the French in an attack on English colonies near the Mexican Gulf. In 1783 he fled from Cuba in

¹ See W. S. Robertson, "The Lost Archives of Miranda", in this REVIEW, VII. 229-232. Cf. "Venezuela Acquires the Precious Miranda Archives", in *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, LXV. 216-218. The Miranda Archives are cited in this article as Mir. MSS.

² Copy of the baptismal certificate of Francisco de Miranda signed by Juan de Rada, April 5, 1750, Mir. MSS., 1. Cf. W. S. Robertson, *Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America*, in *American Historical Association Report*, 1907, I. 229-230.

disgrace; he then made an extraordinary tour of the United States and Europe which lasted six years.³

In 1790 Miranda first presented his plans for the emancipation of Spanish America to the great prime minister William Pitt. Two years later the Venezuelan proceeded from London to Paris where the Girondists seriously considered his projects for the revolutionizing of the Spanish Indies. After a series of romantic experiences in France, where he was tried for treason before the Revolutionary Tribunal because of his part in the disastrous defeat at Neerwinden, General Miranda returned to England.⁴ From 1799 to 1805 he urged upon Pitt and Addington varying plans for the liberation of Spanish America by the aid of English redcoats.

Early in 1805 Miranda launched a small expedition from New York against Venezuela. As this enterprise failed, he returned to London where he presented new projects for Spanish-American emancipation to Lord Castlereagh. However Miranda's best hopes for English coöperation in his master purpose were blasted in June, 1808, by the Spanish uprising against Napoleon. The persistent creole then engaged in a campaign of propaganda for the revolutionizing of Spanish America. In the end of 1810, after a junta had been created in Venezuela which claimed to rule on behalf of the deposed monarch, Ferdinand VII., Miranda returned to his native land.

A crisis which soon arose brought General Miranda forward as the man of destiny and for a few dramatic months he acted as Dictator of Venezuela. An unfortunate combination of circumstances, however, induced him to capitulate to the advancing royalists in June, 1812. On the eve of his departure from La Guaira for the West Indies, he was rudely seized by resentful compatriots, thrust into a castle, and betrayed to

³ Robertson, *Miranda*, chap. IV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, chap. VI. See further C. Parra-Pérez, *Miranda et la révolution française* (Paris, 1925).

the Spaniards. After a galling imprisonment in Spanish dungeons, he died at Cadiz, on June 14, 1816.⁵

II

TESTAMENTARY DISPOSITIONS FRAMED IN FRANCE, 1792, 1797

An early attempt by Miranda to draw up a will was made at Paris on August 31, 1792, just after he had decided to enter the French military service.⁶ The text runs as follows:

Je declare par celle ici, que en *cas de mort*, Mr. Tissot l'ainé, a qui le delegué tout mon Pouvoir, pour faire executer ma volonté—disposera des Articles suivantes—come il suit.⁷

Une grande Caisse N^o. 2 qui contienne 5. grands Tableaux, avec bordures & c.—será remis á Joseph Smith, Esq^r. de Londres—⁸

Une autre N^o. 1 a John Turnbull, Esq^e. de Devonshire Sq^e. Londres—apres avoir paíé 700 liv. qui sont deus a Mr. Cailar.⁹

Toutes les Livres—Estampes & c qui sont contenues dans *Les Listes ci Jointes*, et au Pouvoir de Mr. Barois l'ainé—Librair quai des Augustins N^o. 19.—seront egalement mis a la disposition de John Turnbull, Esq^e. aian paie a Mr. Barrois la some que un reçu que je lui ai donne marque.¹⁰

In fois de cuoi je signe celle ci a Paris ce 31 Aout 1792.

[Signed] F. MIRANDA
Marechal de Camp.

In 1797 Miranda seriously contemplated departing from France. When the coup d'état of 18th Fructidor took place his name was included in the list of persons who were to be deported to Guiana; and early in the following year he left

⁵ Robertson, *Miranda*, *passim*.

⁶ Servan and Lebrun to Miranda, September 1, 1792, stated that he had been appointed major general in the French army. Mir. MSS., 27.

⁷ Tissot was Miranda's landlord in Paris.

⁸ Miranda had become acquainted with Pitt's secretary, Joseph Smith. See Smith to Miranda, December 27, 1790, Mir. MSS., 19.

⁹ John Turnbull was an English merchant.

¹⁰ Barrois l'Ainé was a Parisian bookseller.

France for England. The will which he had drawn was signed and witnessed at Paris as follows:¹¹

Je prie mon ami Barrois l'ainé de gardez en Dépôt les livres, Estamps, tableaux et autres monumens des arts qui sont compris dans le Catalogue et notes remises entre les mains des Ctn. Chauveau Lagarde, avocat, et Le Grande, Architecte.

Il gardera tous ces effets soigneusement, jusqu'à ce que j'en dispose autrement. En cas de renvoi hors de France, il se concertera avec le Citoyen Legrand qui est également chargé des soigner les tableaux, modes d'architecture, Bustes, &c :

Je lui ferai passer des fonds le plutôt qu'il me sera possible, à l'effet de satisfaire quelques petites Dettes que seront payer conformément au mémoire paraphé que lui laisse. Le surplus de les fonds servira pour acheter quelques Livres, où quelques monumens des arts que les Citoyens Clerisseau où Le Grand jugeront pouvoir me convenir : et en tout cas je le prie de ne jamais laisser manquer du nécessaire pour vivre ma fidelle Bonne française Pelicier, dont le sort m'intéresse plus particulièrement.¹² Et si par un hazard imprévu dans la révolution, elle est besoin, je veux qu'elle puisse vendre des meubles pour s'en procurer le nécessaire. Du surplus de ces fonds, mon ami Barrois offrira à mes amis infortunés qui peuvent se trouver dans le besoin des secours les plus urgens. Notamment M^e. Pétion. Mr. Duperon le J^{eu}., la famille Le Barbier, Paine, de qui j'ai reçu des témoignages d'amitié dans mes persécutions.¹³ Si Stone ou Tissot réclament quelque chose de moi, le Ctn. Barrois se concertera avec le Ctn. Chauveau Lagarde qui est au fait de ces deux affaires et qui pourra leur répondre conclusivement : dans tout ce qui me regarde, il

¹¹ Mir. MSS., 42.

¹² C. F. Chauveau Lagarde had defended Miranda before the Revolutionary Tribunal. See the advocate's *Plaidoyer pour le général Miranda* (Paris, 1793). Clerisseau d'Auteuille and Le Grand were other Parisian friends of Miranda. Française Pelicier had served him as maid.

¹³ Mme. Pétion, widow of Pétion de Villeneuve, was a friend and correspondent of Miranda. L. Duperon was an intriguing character who was at one time employed in the French department of foreign affairs. The artist Jean Lebarbier had painted a portrait of Miranda. Thomas Paine testified on behalf of Miranda in 1793.

consultera également le Cn. Chauveau sur l'amitié et sur les talens duquel je compte.¹⁴

En cas de trepas, mon ami Barrois d'accord avec les Citoyens Legrand et Clerisseau fera vendre tous mes effets, et apres le payement de la somme contenue dans la note ci-dessus mentionnée ainsi que des dépenses qu'il fera pour moi et le reste de nos comptes, il donnera tout le restant des effets ou la valeur équivalente à ma bonne française Pelicier, pour récompense de sa fidelité et des services qu'elle m'a rendus durant le tems de ma persécution.

Dans le cas ou le Citoyen Barrois se refuserait à signer l'acte ci-contre ainsi que le Catalogue et les notes cidessus mentionnées et dont les effets se trouverent déposer chez lui, je substitue à sa place le Citoyen Chauveau-Lagarde, auquel je donne le Pouvoir nécessaire pour faire enlever les dites effets et je lui en confie la garde.* Paris le quatre fructidor an 5 de la rep. fr.

[Signed] F. MIRANDA

Signé par nous comme temoins

CHAUVEAU LAGARDE DUPERON, V^{ve}. PETION
SEGRAVE

V^{ve}. POTIEZ

* lui transmettant en outre tous les pouvoirs que j'ai ci dessus donnés au Cn. Barrois, et les lui déleguant même dos a présent à la place du C. Barrois, s'il le juges nécessaires

MIRANDA.

III

TESTAMENT DATED AUGUST 1, 1805

In the autumn of 1805 Miranda decided to leave England for the United States. From London, on August 1, 1805, he addressed to Chauveau Lagarde, Clerisseau d'Auteuille, and Le Grand a letter of which the following is a copy:¹⁵

Je vous pris mes Amis (en cas de Trepas) de remettre tous les Papiers et outres effets m'appartenant, ainsi que les Tableaux et monuments des arts a Mess. John Turnbull Esq^e., et au tres hone. Nichols. Vansittart chargés de mes dispositions Testamentaires—

¹⁴ John H. Stone was an English refugee. See *Bulletin du tribunal révolutionnaire*, no. 37, 2me. supplement (Paris, 1793).

¹⁵ Mir. MSS., 49.

Tous mes dispositions anterieures à celle ci devant etre Cancelles. Je vous prie de ne pas faire aucune attention—et de soigner seulement qu'on' donne unne gratification de 100 louis à ma bonne Franc^e. Pelicier; et je prie mon ami Chauveau de prendre a quelque meuble ou tableau como souvenir de notre intime amité.

Vale

[Signed] MIRANDA

A document by which the revolutionist revoked his previous testamentary disposition was found by the writer in Miranda's Archives. Next to it was a sheet of paper which had been folded so as to enclose a packet of manuscripts. This envelope had originally been carefully sealed and bore this address:

To Mess.

John Turnbull, Esqr.

P. Turnbull—

The Right Hon. Nich^s. Vansittart.

To be open only, in case of my Death

Miranda.¹⁶

In the impromptu envelope the testator had sealed the folded will. After returning to England from the West Indies, he detached the seal, unfolded the envelope and the will, and later had these papers bound into a volume with other documents of this era.¹⁷

In another tome of his archives Miranda left a copy of the same will with corrections. As it differed only slightly from the testamentary disposition which is here printed, it was probably a rough draft of that document. Interleaved with this draft was an "Inventory of Furniture" dated "London 12 Augst. 1805".¹⁸ Just before he left England for America, on August 28, 1805, Miranda addressed a note to Messrs.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Turnbull and Vansittart in which he mentioned his testament in these words:

Mes dispositions testamentaires, que je laisse cachetés dans un tiroir, seront ouvertes le cas echeant, et mises a execution par vos bontés et par un effet de la bonne amitié dont je vous suis redevable.¹⁹

It accordingly appears that this carefully folded testament found among Miranda's papers is an authentic copy of his true testament composed in 1805.

Londres 1. de Agosto de 1805—
Disposición Testamentaria.

Hallandome a punto de embarcarme para la América, con intento de llevar á debido efecto los Planos—politicos en que tengo empleada gran parte de mi Vida; y considerando los graves riesgos y peligros que para ello será indispensable superar; hago esta declaracion à fin que por ella se cumpla en caso de fallecimiento esta mi voluntad.²⁰

Los bienes y derechos de Familia que tenga en la Cuidad de Caracas Provincia de Venezuela, mi Patria, los dexo à beneficio de mis amadas hermanas y sobrinos, à quienes afectuosisimamente deseo toda prosperidad.²¹

Tengo en la Ciudad de Paris en Francia, una preciosa Coleccion de Pinturas, Bronces, Mosaicos, Gouaches, y Estampas (segun los Catalogos del Legajo Δ.) que paran en poder de Mr. Clericaux d'Auteuille, y de su yerno Mr. Le Grande architecto de la misma Ciudad de Paris; y del Abogado Mr. Chauvaux la Garde, mi defensór y amigo.—Asi mismo me debe la nacion Francesa por mis Sueldos y Gratificaciones en tres Campañas qui servi la Republica à mi Costa comandando sus Exercitos (segun Cuentas de la Tesoreria, Certificaciones de ministros de la guerra Servan, Pile, &c.) unos diez mil

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 49.

²⁰ Miranda's political plans for Spanish America in 1790 are found in the Chatham MSS., 45.

²¹ The testator's father, Sebastián de Miranda, was a prosperous merchant of Caracas. As the eldest son, Francisco de Miranda claimed to have property rights in Venezuela. See J. M. Antepara, *South American Emancipation* (London, 1810), pp. 220-221.

Luis por la parte que menos;²² hasta el año 1801—en el mes de Marzo que el infame Bonaparte me honró; como el Directorio; con una especie de ostracismo, y yo voluntariamente renuncie la Francia, como nación envilecida y subjugada por los hombres mas perversos de la Revolucion Francesa.²³

Dexo asi mismo en la Ciudad de Londres en Inglaterra, mis Papeles, Correspondencias—Oficiales con los Ministros y Generales de Francia en tiempo que comande les Exercitos; de dicha República; y tambien varios MSS. que contienen mis Viages è investigaciones en America, Europa, Asia, y Africa con objeto de buscár la mejor forma y Plan de gobierno, para el establecimiento de una Sabia y Juiciosa Libertad-Civil en las Colonias Hispano-Americanos; que son a mi juico los paises mas bien situados, y los Pueblos mas aptos para ello, de quantos yo tengo conocidos. Quedan estos cerrados y sellados en 30 Caxas de Carton. (mas 1. Portafolio de Cuero que està en Poder de Mr. Clerigaux en Paris)

Mas, mi Correspondencia y negociaciones con los ministros de su Magd. B. desde el año 1790, hasta el dia presente, à cerca de la Independencia absoluta, y del establecimiento de la Libertad-Civil en todo el Continente Hispano-Americano; en los propios terminos que la Francia lo hizo con los E. U. de America. quedan igualmente cerrados en quatro Portafolios de Cuero, con mi sello.²⁴

Item los muebles y adornos de la Casa en que vivo. No. 27 Grafton Street, con alguna Plata y Loza, segun el Catalogo Γ.²⁵

Dexo por encargados y Albaceas en esta Ciudad de Londres à mis respectables amigos John Turnbull Esqr. of Guilford Street (por su falta P. Turnbull su hijo) y al mui hone. Nichs. Vansittart, à

²² It does not appear that this claim of Miranda was ever paid in full. On July 21, 1793, the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of Finance of the National Convention decided that besides 11,932 livres that France had already paid Miranda, he should be given 35,002 livres in specie and 21,704 in assignats to satisfy his claim. See report of above date in the Archives Nationales, F^o, 7112, B 7190.

²³ Miranda was expelled from France in April, 1801.

²⁴ In this article the bound volumes of Miranda's Archives are cited as parts of one chronological series.

²⁵ By the "Catalogo Γ" perhaps the testator meant the inventory of his household goods dated August 2, 1805, Mir. MSS., 24.

quienes suplico se encarguen de mis asuntos durante mi ausencia y de la execusion de esta mi ultima disposicion en caso de fallecimiento.²⁶

1º. Todos los Papeles y MSS. que llevo mencionados, se embiaràn à la Ciudad de Caracas (en caso de que el Pais se haga independiente, ò que un Comercio franco abra las puertas de la Provincia à las demas naciones—pues de otro modo seria lo mismo que remitirlos a Madrid) à poder de mis deudos, ò del Cabildo y Ayuntamiento, para que colocados en los Archivos de la Ciudad, testifiquen à mi Patria el amòr sincero de un fiel Ciudadano—y los exfuerzos constantes que tengo practicados por el bien publico de mis amados compatriotas.²⁷

A la Universidad de Caracas se embiaran en mi nombre los Libros *Clasicos-Griegos* y *Latinos* de mi Biblioteca, en señal de agradecimiento y respecto por los Sabios principios de Literatura, y de moral-christiana con que alimentaron mi Juventud . . . con cuyos solidos fundamentos he podido superàr felizmente los graves peligros y dificultades de los presentes tiempos.²⁸

2º. Toda la Propriedad que queda aqui en Londres, y en Francia (segun llevo expresado anteriormente) se aplicarà a la educaciòn y beneficio de mi hijo natural Leandro, que dexo recomendado especialmente à mis albaceas y amigos; pues queda en la tierna edad de 18 meses y sin mas proteccion de deudos ò Parientes.²⁹

3º. Las 600 £ St. que dexo à Mr. Turnbull para hir pagando la renta y gastos de mi Casa (segun el arrendamiento de 70 £. anuales) se entregaràn en la parte restante à mi fiel ama de llaves Sara Andrews—à quien dexo igualmente los muebles de dha Casa nº. 27—en Grafton Street, la Plata, Loza, Fixtures de la misma Casa &c. . . .³⁰

Fecha ut supra.

[Signed] FRAN. DE MIRANDA.

²⁶ Nicholas Vansittart and Miranda first met in the spring of 1801. Vansittart became Miranda's most trusted friend and served as an intermediary between him and the English government.

²⁷ Miranda had long feared that his cherished papers would fall into the hands of the Spaniards.

²⁸ Miranda attended the University of Caracas between 1763 and 1766. See R. Domínguez, "Miranda en la universidad", in *El Universal*, Caracas, December 2, 1925.

²⁹ Leandro was the testator's son.

³⁰ Miranda had lived at 27 Grafton Street, Fitzroy Square, at least since the midsummer of 1803.

P. S.

A mi estimado amigo el mui hone. Nichs. Vansittart dexo por memoria la Coleccion de Mapas y Cartas Geographicas que estan en Un Cofre hecho para este efecto: y a Mr. Turnbull los dos Gravados de Morghen de la *Transfiguracion*, y el *Cenaculo* que estan en la Sala principal: y dos quadros à su eleccion de los que éstan en Paris—ut supra.

[Signed] MIRANDA.

IV

THE LAST TESTAMENT, 1810

A short time after Miranda had perished miserably at Cadiz, his will was presented for probate in the County of Middlesex which was then in such matters within the jurisdiction of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. Although Venezuelan authors have printed what seemed to be Miranda's last testament, yet the truth of the matter is that the original will in the Spanish language as signed by Miranda and as admitted to probate remained unknown until its discovery by the writer.³¹ Obviously Miranda had used the will of 1805 as a model.

On the back cover of the will there was written these words:

Prerogative
Taylor agt. Miranda
& Others
General Miranda deceased
Original Will.

³¹ An alleged will of Miranda, which closely resembles the one found by the writer in his archives, was first published by J. F. Blanco (and R. Azpurúa), *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del libertador de Colombia, Perú y Bolivia* (Caracas, 1876), II. 70-71. It was reprinted by R. Becerra, *Ensayo histórico documentado de la vida de don Francisco de Miranda* (Caracas, 1896), II. 497-499, who doubted its authenticity. Cf. Robertson, *Miranda*, pp. 358-359, and note. In an article entitled "El testamento de Miranda", in *El Nuevo Diario*, Caracas, May 14, 1924, Parra-Pérez printed a version of Miranda's last will which he had obtained by translating into Spanish an English translation of this testament that he had found in the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

On the back cover of the will there was written these words:

Will & Codl. & Judt.
Francisco de *Miranda*
Feby. 1817.³²

The original will, collated by the writer with a photostatic copy, reads as follows:

Londres 1 de Agosto de 1805.

Disposicion Testamentaria.

Hallandome á punto de embarcarme para la America, con intento de llevar á debido efecto los Planes Politicos en que tengo empleada gran parte de mi vida; y considerando los graves riesgos y peligros que para ello será indispensable superar; hago esta declaracion, afin que por ella se cumpla (en caso de fallecimiento) esta mi voluntad.

Los bienes y derechos de Familia que tengo en la Ciudad de Caracas Provincia de Venezuela, mi Patria—los dexo á beneficio de mis amadas hermanas, sobrinos y deudos, á quienes afectuosamente deseo toda prosperidad.

Tengo en la Ciudad de Paris en Francia, una preciosa Coleccion de Pinturas, Bronces, Mosaicos, Gouaches, y Estampas (segun los Catalogos legajo Δ *.) que paran en Podér de Mr. *Clerisseau* d'Auteuille—y de su yerno Mr. Le Grand arquitecto de la misma ciudad de Paris; y del abogado Mr. Chauveau Lagarde mi defensor y amigo. Asi mismo me debe la Nacion francesa por mis sueldos y gratificaciones en tres Campanas que servi la Republica á mi Costa Comandando sus Exercitos; (segun Cuentas de la Tesoreria, Certificacion de Ministros de la guerra Servan, Pille &c.) unos diez mil Luises por la parte que menos; hasta el año 1801. en el mes de marzo que el Consul Bonaparte me honro; como el Directorio; con una especie de Ostracismo,—y yo voluntariamente renuncié la Francia, como Nacion envilecida y subjugada por los hombres mas perversos de la Revolucion francesa!

Dexo asi mismo en la Ciudad de Londres en Ynglaterra mis Papeles, Correspondencias Oficiales con Ministros y Generales de Francia en

* ahora en Caracas.³³

³² Original Wills, Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Somerset House.

³³ A line had been drawn through this footnote.

tiempo que comandé los Exercitos; de dicha Republica; y tambien varios Mss. que contienen mis Viages é investigaciones en la America, Europa, Asia y Africa con objeto de buscar la mejor forma y Plan de Gobierno para el establecimiento de una sabia y juiciosa Libertad en las Colonias H-Americanas; que son á mi juicio los Países mas bien situados, y los Pueblos mas aptos para ello de quantos yo tengo conocidos—quedan estos cerrados y sellados en 30. Caxas de Carton (mas 1. Portafo. de cuero que esta en poder de Mr. Clerisseau en Paris.) Como asi mismo mi Correspondencia y Negociaciones con los Ministros de su M.B. desde el año de 1790—hasta el presente dia, á cerca de la Yndependencia absoluta y del establecimiento de la Libertad en todo el Continente H-Americano;—en los propios terminos que la Francia lo hizo con los E. U. de America. (Remitidos ultimamente á Caracas con D. Simon de Bolivar en 62. Volumen folio.)³⁴

Ytem una Bibliotheca de libros clasicos Griegos, Latinos, Ytalianos, Franceses, Yngleses, Alemanes, Portugueses y Españoles como consta del Cathalogo II. (serán en todo unos 6,000. Volumen folio.)³⁵

Ytem los muebles y adornos de la Casa en que vivo N^o. 27 Grafton Street—con alguna Plata y Loza segun el *Cathalogo* I.

Dexo por Encargado, y Albacea en esta Ciudad al mui honorable Nicholas Vansittart á quien recomendo mui particularmente lo siguiente.³⁶

1^o. Que todos los Papeles, y Mss. que llevo mencionados, se embiaran á la ciudad de Caracas (en caso de que este Pais se haga independiente, ó que un comercio franco abra las puertas de la Provincia á las demas naciones—por que de otro modo seria lo mismo

³⁴ At some time before September, 1810, Miranda had his legajos of manuscripts bound. In his preface (p. iv) to *South American Emancipation*, Antepara stated that he had selected documents for publication from more than sixty tomes of Miranda's Archives. When the writer found the memorabilia of Miranda in the estate office of Lord Bathurst at Cirencester they were bound in 63 volumes.

³⁵ During his travels in America and Europe as well as by purchases from booksellers in Paris and London, Miranda had collected many rare and curious books. Some years after his death the major part of his magnificent collection was sold by Mr. Evans at auction in London. See *Catalogue of the Valuable and Extensive Library of the late General Miranda*, part I (London, 1828); and *Catalogue of the Second and Remaining Portion of the Valuable Library of the late General Miranda* (London, 1833).

³⁶ The testator had become dissatisfied with Turnbull's conduct toward his family in 1806-1807; hence presumably in 1810 he did not name him as executor.

que remitirlos á Madrid) á poder de mis deudos, ó del Cabildo y Ayuntamiento; para que colocados en los Archivos de la Ciudad, testifiquen á mi Patria el amor sincero de un fiel Ciudadano—y los esfuerzos constantes que tengo practicados por el bien general de mis amados compatriotas.

A la Universidad de Caracas se embiaran en mi nombre los Libros *Clasicos Griegos* de mi Biblioteca, en señal de agradecimiento y respecto por los sabios principios de Literatura, y de moral Christiana con que alimentaron mi Juventud; con cuyos solidos fundamentos he podido superár felizmente los graves riesgos y peligros en que la suerte quiso colocarme.³⁷

2º. Toda la propiedad que queda aquí en Londres, y en Francia (segun llevo expresado anteriormente) se aplicará á la Educacion y Beneficio de mi hijo natural Leandro,* que dexo especialmente recomendados á mi Albacea y Amigos, pues queda en la tierna edad el primero de 18. meses, y sin mas proteccion de deudos ó Parientes.³⁸

3º. Las £ 600 stg que dexo á Mr. Turnbull para ir pagando la renta y gastos de mi Casa (segun el arrendamiento de £ 70. anuales) se entregaran en la parte restante á mi fiel ama de llaves Sara Andrews—á quien dexo igualmente los muebles de Casa Nº. 27. Grafton Street, la Plata, Loza, Fixtures de la misma Casa &c.

[Signed] M——A.

* y tambien Francisco.³⁹

Londres 2 de Octubre de 1810.

En el momento de embarcarme segunda vez para la Provincia de Caracas afin de proteger su independenciam y libertad; por ruegos y á pedimento de mis amados compatriotas;—Ratifico y confirmo plenamente la precedente disposicion testamentaria—y ruego á mi amigo

³⁷ Miranda's classical books were accordingly transported to Venezuela where in 1829 they were placed in the library of the University of Caracas. See M. Landaeta Rosales, "El General Francisco de Miranda", in *El Universal*, Caracas, September 26, 1919.

³⁸ Miranda left this clause almost exactly as it had been phrased five years earlier. When he signed the codicil to his last will, his son Leandro was almost seven years of age.

³⁹ This is the only reference in Miranda's last will to his second son, Francisco, who was born in 1806. The views of a South American biographer about the mother of Miranda's children will be found in Becerra, *Ensayo*, II. 499-500.

y albacea el mui honorable Nicholas Vansittart le dé el debido cumplimiento.⁴⁰

Fecha ut supra.

[Signed] FR. DE MIRANDA.

V

OFFICIAL TRANSLATION OF LAST TESTAMENT, WITH PROBATE DOCUMENTS

On the 10th. Feby 1817 Admôn (with the Will and Codicil annexed) of the Goods Chattels and Credits of Francisco de Miranda late of Grafton Street Fitzroy Square in the County of Middx. & a General in the Army of South America Bachelor decd. was granted to John Tayler Esq. one of the Partners in the Mercantile House of Messieurs Edmund Boehm & John Tayler of New Broad Street London Creditors of the said Decd. having been first sworn duly to Admⁿ.⁴¹ The Right Honble Nicholas Vansittart the sole Executor named in the said Will having first renounced the Probate and Execution thereof and consented and no Residuary Legatee—And Leandro de Miranda & Francisco de Miranda the Principal Legatees named in the said Will & Ana Antonio de Miranda W^o. the natural & lawful Sister & only next of Kin & also Jose Maria Arrieta, Maria Catalina Arrieta (Wife of Blas Borjas) Rafaela Fernandez Sp. Fernandez Sp. Manuela de Orea, Sp. Nieves de Orea Sp. Paula de Orea Sp. & Josefa Maria Nunez (wife of Louis Lopez Mendez) the Nephews & Nieces & with the said Ana Antonio de Miranda the only Persons entitled to the undisposed residue of the Personal Estate & Effects of the said Decd. having been first duly cited with the usual Intimation but no one in any wise appeared (as by Acts of Court Appear)⁴²

£3000 [Signed] JENNER.

⁴⁰ On October 10, 1810, the testator left London; see Miranda to Marquis Wellesley, January 7, 1811, Public Record Office, F. O., 72/125.

⁴¹ This letter of administration directly follows the codicil on a page of the original will.

⁴² Little data is at present available concerning those relatives who survived Miranda. On the fate of his two children, see Becerra, *Ensayo*, II. 499-500, and E. Posada, "Apostillas", in *Boletín de Historia y Antigüedades*, no. 146 (Bogotá, 1920), pp. 90-96.

Translated from the Spanish Language⁴³

London 1st. August 1805.

Testamentary Disposition.

Being on the point of embarking for America for the purpose of carrying into due effect the Political plans in which I have employed a great part of my life and considering the serious risks and dangers which to that end it will be indispensable to overcome I make this declaration in order that thereby in the event of my decease this my will may be fulfilled.

The property and rights of family I have in the City of Caracas, Province of Venezuela, my Country I leave for the benefit of my beloved Sisters, Nephews and Relations to whom I affectionately desire every prosperity.

I have in the City of Paris in France a valuable collection of Pictures, Bronzes, Mosaics, Paintings in Water Colours and Prints (as per the catalogue in the bundle of Papers Δ) which are in the possession of Mr. Clerisseau d'Auteuille and of his Son in law Mr. le Grand architect in the said City of Paris and of the lawyer Mr. Chauveau Lagarde my Defender and friend. There is also—owing to me by the French Nation for my salary and remuneration, for three campaigns during which I served the Republic at my cost commanding their Armies (as per the accounts of the Treasury, certificates of the Ministers in the War department Servan, Pille &ca) about ten thousand louis at least until the year 1801. in the Month of March when the Consul Bonaparte honored me as well as the directory with a Kind of Ostracism and I voluntarily renounced France as a nation degraded and subjugated by men the most perverse of the French Revolution.

I also leave in the City of London in England, my papers; official correspondence with Ministers and Generals of France at the time I commanded the Armies of the said Republic and also sundry Manuscripts containing my voyages and researches in America Europe Asia and Africa for the purpose of finding the best form and plan of

⁴³ This inexact translation was found in the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 85 Effingham, Somerset House. With the deposition of Mackellar and Molini, it was translated into Spanish and printed by Parra-Pérez in *El Nuevo Diario*, Caracas, March 14, 1924.

government for the establishment of a wise and judicious liberty in the colonies of H—America which are in my opinion the best situated countries and the districts most fit for that purpose of those I have known, these are closed and sealed in 30 Pasteboard Cases (besides a portefeuille of leather in the possession of Mr. Clerisseau in Paris) Likewise my correspondence and negociations with the Ministers of His Britannic Majesty from the year 1790 up to the present time respecting the absolute independence and establishment of liberty in the whole of the Continent of H—America in the same manner as France did with the E. U. of America (lately transmitted to Caracas with Dⁿ. Simon de Bolivar in 62 volumes folio).

Also a library of classical books in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, English, German, Portuguese and Spanish—as appears by the Catalogue II (they may be in all about 6000 volumes.)

Also the moveables and furniture of the house in which I live N^o. 27 Grafton Street with some plate and earthenware according to the catalogue I.

I also leave as agent and testamentary Executor in this City the Right Honorable Nicholas Vansittart to whom I particularly recommend the following.

1st. That all the papers and manuscripts I have made mention of shall be sent to the City of Caracas (in the event of this Country becoming independent or a free commerce opening the ports of the Province to the other nations as in any other way it would be the same as to transmit them to Madrid) to the custody of my parents or the Magistracy, so that being placed in the archives of the City they may prove to my country the sincere love of a faithful citizen and the constant efforts I have used for the general good of my beloved Compatriots.

To the University of Caracas shall be sent in my name the Classical Greek books of my library as a token of thanks and respect for the wise principles of literature and Christian Morals with which they nourished my youth, and with which solid foundations I have been enabled to overcome successfully the serious risks and dangers in which fate had designed to place me.

2nd. All the property remaining here in London and in France (as I have before mentioned) shall be applied to the education and benefit of my natural son Leandro* whom I leave particularly recom-

mended to my executor and friends as the first is left at the tender age of 18 months and without any further protection of Parents or relations.

3rd. The £ 600 Sterling which I leave with Mr. Turnbull to go on paying the rent and expences of my house (at the rent of £70 per annum) which shall be paid in what remains to my faithful house-keeper Sarah Andrews—to whom I also leave the household furniture of No. 27 Grafton Street, the plate, earthenware, pictures, of the said house &c.

M————A.

* and also Francisco.

London 2nd. October 1810.

At the moment of embarking a second time for the province of Caracas in order to protect its independence and liberty, by request and at the petition of my beloved Compatriots I ratify and confirm in full the preceding testamentary disposition—And I request my friend and executor the Right Honorable Nicholas Vansittart to give it its due completion. Dated ut Supra.

(Signed) FR. DE MIRANDA.

Faithfully Translated from the Spanish Language by me the undersigned in London this 18 September 1816.

Which I Attest

[Signed] JP. DE PINNA
1816

NOT. PUB.

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury

To be registered

In the Goods of General Francisco Miranda deceased.

Appeared personally Thomas Molini of Grafton Street Fitzroy Square in the County of Middlesex Gentleman and Donald Mackellar of Thavies Inn in the City of London Gentleman and made oath that they knew and were well acquainted with Francisco de Miranda late of Grafton Street aforesaid and a General

in the Army of South America deceased:—⁴⁴
 and the said Thomas Molini for himself
 further made oath that he is the Writer or
 Drawer of the said Deceased's Will and also of
 the Codicil or Ratification thereof now hereunto
 annexed, the said Will beginning thus "Londres
 "1 de Agosto de 1805. Disposicion Testamentaria"
 and ending thus " a quien dexo igualmente los
 "muebles de Casa No. 27 Grafton Street la Plata
 "Loza, Fixtures de la misma Casa &c. M—a."
 and the said Codicil or ratification beginning
 thus "Londres 2 de Octubre de 1810" ending
 thus "Fecha ut supra" and thus subscribed
 "Fr. de Miranda" and that he was present and
 saw the said Deceased sign the said Codicil
 or Ratification of his said Will and knows
 that the Words "y tambien Francisco" now
 at the foot of the third page of the said Will
 and referred to in the body thereof were written
 before the said Deceased signed the said
 Codicil or Ratification: And the said
 Donald Mackellar for himself made oath
 that he was well acquainted with the manner
 and character of the said Deceased's Hand-
 writing and Subscription having often seen
 him write and subscribe his Name⁴⁵ and
 having now with care and attention viewed
 the Subscription to the aforesaid Codicil or
 Ratification of the said Deceased's Will now
 hereto annexed and beginning and ending as
 aforesaid he saith he doth verily and in

⁴⁴ For some years Thomas Molini had acted as the revolutionist's secretary. After General Miranda had been betrayed, Molini returned to London where he made a plea in favor of the prisoner of state. See Molini to R. Wellesley, March 11, 1813, Public Record Office, F. O., 72/150. Donald Mackellar had become acquainted with Miranda soon after the latter arrived in London.

⁴⁵ The notary evidently wished to restore the phrase "and subscribe his Name" through which a line had been drawn, as he had written in the margin the abbreviation "st." for "stet".

his Conscience believe the said Subscription to be of the proper Handwriting of the said General Francisco de Miranda deceased.

24th day of January 1817

The said Thomas Molini and Donald Mackellar. were duly sworn to the truth of this Affidavit.	[Signed]	THOMAS MOLINI DON ^D . MACKELLAR
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Before me

[Signed]	S. PARSON	[?]
		Sur

Prest.

W^M. FOX

Not: Pub:—

The authentic text of Miranda's last testament suggests solutions for tantalizing problems concerning his life. Significant differences exist between certain enigmatical clauses in the will published by Blanco and corresponding clauses in the true testament left by Miranda. The clause which in the Blanco text reads "my faithful housekeeper. S.A.," in Miranda's private copy and in the last testament reads "my faithful housekeeper, Sarah Andrews". The clause which in the Blanco text reads, "my son Leandro", in both Miranda's private copy and in the last testament reads, "my natural son, Leandro". In his last will the testator also acknowledged the paternity of his youngest son Francisco but still seemed to remain silent in regard to the mother of these children. As the letter of administration issued by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury described General Miranda as a bachelor, the writer is forced to the conclusion that his sons were born out of wedlock.

In truth there repose among the multitudinous memorabilia of the promoter of revolutions inedited letters which show that both Leandro and Francisco were the children of Sarah Andrews. With regard to the provenance of the testamentary disposition which was first published by Blanco, the

tion that government exists for the sake of the officeholders rather than for the sake of the governed. Patriotism at best is only military—the sort, indeed, that may make a man willing to risk his life for the country in moments of enthusiasm, but seldom or never property as well, while in times of peace there is no higher duty than that which one owes to himself. This important obligation requires also that one should provide jobs for political partisans. And not only that: there is also the necessity for looking out for one's relatives and one's wife's relatives, to say nothing of a helping hand to intimate personal friends. The family tie in Latin countries—and in this respect at least Haiti may be considered Latin—is much stronger and infinitely more inclusive than in Anglo-Saxon lands. Under the circumstances there are never jobs enough in Haiti to go around, wherefore competition is keen, even to the point of revolution, unless some outside power steps in to interfere in the perennial battle of the “outs” against the “ins”.

There is one other factor in the oft-repeated political game: the foreigner. Without money there can be no political life at all, and government funds depend on the development of economic resources and trade. Haitians have shown very little capacity or interest in the varied forms of economic production and business life. Even where they have owned large estates they have done little to assist nature, realizing only a fraction of the value that their lands ought to produce. If desirous of a more considerable development they have been handicapped by a lack of capital. As a result the foreigner—the invited or at any rate gladly welcomed foreigner, be it understood, despite propaganda of the “outs” to the contrary—has become an indispensable part of the whole. He creates wealth, which means more government funds, which mean more profit for the higher-ups and more jobs for the lower-downs, which occasion a somewhat more excitedly poignant longing among the “outs”, but he also brings in a more pressing necessity for response to international obliga-

tions, the outcome of which has been the intervention of the United States in the affairs of the republic.

An intervention inevitably has its unpleasant side from the standpoint of the people who thus suffer a temporary loss of independence, but nowhere more than in Haiti itself will there be stronger assertions of the benefits derived from the American occupation. This is not to say that there is no criticism. Of that there is a plenty: by the "ins", whose opportunities for graft and job-giving become very greatly circumscribed in comparison with what would seem to them to be their opportunities; by the "outs", who are not likely to miss their chance for patriotic propaganda as against the "ins" on account of their tolerance of a foreign overlordship; by great numbers of the well-meaning but not too thoroughly informed American people, who cannot grasp the entirely different motive forces of such a civilization as that of Haiti as compared with those of the United States; and from a few journalists, who for reasons of political or social policy or merely for financial profit deliberately distort facts or select and emphasize only those which seem to contribute to the point of view they are trying to establish. This makes the work of the American officers employed in the intervention doubly worthy of praise, for they get little appreciation, either at home or abroad, for their truly remarkable and beneficent achievements in Haiti.

What caused the intervention? A brief account of the history of Haiti provides the answer. Few lands in the world have had a more hectic past of fascinating variety. Here and in the Dominican Republic to the east were founded the first European settlements in the New World, in course of the voyages of Columbus. Hispaniola was the name given to the island by the Spaniards, but this was later replaced by the name Santo Domingo (not "San" Domingo, as so often rendered barbarously in English). In the middle of the seventeenth century the French buccaneers gained a foothold in

that part of the island now included in the Republic of Haiti, and in 1697 the French monarch recognized the achievements of his "faithful subjects" by annexing the territories they had occupied. Eventually France also acquired the rest of the island, but did not retain the eastern part for long.

The story of the uprising of Toussaint l'Ouverture against Napoleon is reasonably familiar to American readers. Out of that there developed an independent Haiti, a name which revived an old-time Indian word for the island. There followed a wild orgy of black or mulatto rule, in course of which the whites were indiscriminately put to death or driven from the country, while their once splendid plantations were allowed to revert to a state of nature. The sweeping character of the change can be dimly understood when it is said that the wealth of Haiti has never since been so great as it was under the French around 1790, just before the outbreak of the negro revolt. And yet as an independent country Haiti has produced some extraordinarily capable despots, usually somewhat ruthless and bloodthirsty, who have nevertheless permitted of moments of economic prosperity. In between, however, there were periods of anarchy in which a president was lucky if he lasted a year in office or died a natural death. Eventually financial disorder and damage to foreign interests caused pressure for intervention to be brought at Washington, especially by European powers. The climax came in 1915. On July 27, President Sam was driven to take refuge in the French legation. That same day he gave orders for the assassination of his political opponents, one hundred and sixty of whom had been rounded up and immured in the local jail at Port-au-Prince. These men were crowded together and mercilessly shot down. Next day an infuriated mob of the dead men's relatives dragged Sam from the French legation and literally hacked him to bits, before the eyes of the wife and children of the French minister. That same afternoon a detachment of American marines was landed, and the intervention began.

The evils of Haitian politics are only a part of the story one must understand, if he is to grasp the achievements of the intervention. Economically, Haiti is what might be called a country of great resources but scant wealth; it has a fertile soil, but its exceedingly mountainous character makes communication difficult and distributes its abundant water supplies in the wrong places. Huge capital expenditures are therefore necessary if the republic is to approximate its possibilities, and these must inevitably be undertaken by the government or by foreign companies. It is far more important, however, to know something of the characteristics of the masses of the Haitian people with whom the intervention has to deal. To say only that the Haitians are "negroes" conveys an entirely false impression to the American, for there are wide differences between the blacks of the United States and those of Haiti. The American negro is on the whole a fine physical specimen; the Haitian is comparatively under-sized. The former is a loud-laughing, jovial, happy character, but is noisy, uncouth, and at times domineering and egotistical, if given a chance; the latter displays the happy traits of the negro type in a much more subdued, simple, and well-mannered fashion. Even in looks the two peoples are not the same, for the Haitian lacks the thick lips and nostrils and rolling eyes of his brother in the north. If the comparison thus far seems in some respects to favor the Haitian, in other ways the latter has a far greater burden to throw off before he can take his place among the civilized peoples of the earth.

To begin with, the health of the native of Haiti is indescribably bad. It is said that perhaps eighty-five per cent of the population has syphilis, either inherited or acquired. Some other diseases are almost equally prominent, such as malaria and those due to filth. Undrained swamps and primitive sewage systems, where there were any at all, contributed to these. Lack of physical resistance or even of ordinary bodily strength has added to the difficulties that the masses have to

contend with, for in a country that nature meant to be a great food-producer the people are under-nourished. In the season of the wild-growing mango they fatten perceptibly, only to dwindle away slowly during the rest of the year. Oftentimes a principal element of their food will be a soup scarcely distinguishable from water in its nutritive properties, unless it is in the flavor given by the insertion of a dried herring, which is used successively for a number of days. And prior to the intervention such facilities as existed for the care of the sick were crude and even insanitary to the last degree.

A poor physical state is but one of the many handicaps the native of Haiti has to battle against. He is uneducated; the figures for illiteracy reach ninety-five per cent. The Haitians are Catholic, often very devout, but there is a seemingly ineradicable foundation of superstition, compared to which the supposed superstitions of the American negro are but as a figment of the imagination. Voodooism, a form of snake worship, to the accompaniment of a wild orgy of a dance, undoubtedly exists today, despite the efforts of the officers of the intervention to stamp it out. To be sure, one hears no more of authenticated cases of sacrifices of the "little white goat"—that is to say, of a child, preferably white—although there are plenty of popular rumors, even of that. But, aside from voodooism, there are numerous forms of superstition that are generally current. Even the educated classes are not free from them. They will laugh about them, but in the next breath will say with the utmost seriousness, "All the same, I once knew of a case"; and then will recite as of their own knowledge something as weird as any of the tales they have seemed to scorn. Few indeed are the Haitians who would face a *loup-garou* (were-wolf or witch) or a *zambi* (ghost—with spelling not guaranteed), while they are equally afraid of having a *wanga*, or curse, put upon them. If a Haitian servant finds a snake in your yard or a frog in your private bathing pool, he will not kill it or even drive it away, for the

one is "master of the yard", as the other is "master of the pool". Besides, there are any number of wonder-working things, either for good or ill. A friend of the writer's disturbed his host in the wee sma' hours of the night by the vulgar habit of snoring, whereupon the latter, on the recommendation of one of his servants (an ardent Christian, by the way), put a small squash under his pillow to cure him. It didn't work! The squash is supposed to have yet other remarkable properties. According to one account given to the writer it increases passion, something that the simple-minded Haitian of the lower classes regards as eminently desirable, but another version has it that it kills it!

One of the most fascinating subjects of study of Haitian life is that of these, to an American, strange beliefs. No amount of evidence to the contrary can convince a Haitian of their untruth. Many are the stories one hears. On one occasion, for example, at Cap Haitien (an important northern port) not long ago, a native gendarme who had been on guard duty came to his superior officer covered with blood and in a great state of excitement to report that he had just had an encounter with a *loup-garou*. "The loup-garou was all white as it approached", he said, "but when I commanded it to halt it illuminated itself and kept on coming. I again commanded it to halt, and when it didn't I thrust my bayonet through it twice". It proved that a prominent woman, the Haitian wife of a white merchant, had put phosphorus on her body and wrapped a piece of white canvas around her. When she dropped this at the sentry's first command her body took on a phosphorescent glow. Nobody ever knew just why she attempted the trick, as she died in a few hours without having made a statement, but though the facts were perfectly well known and had worked out in a manner absolutely at variance with normal popular superstitions there are few natives in the Cap Haitien district who would not believe it was a case of a *loup-garou*, a belief shared even by the sentry at whose

hands the woman met death. As for the sentry, he was immediately promoted to a corporalecy. "Any Haitian gendarme who will kill a *loup-garou*, or even face one, is entitled to more than ordinary respect", his commander said.

Take the conditions as described thus far and multiply liberally, and some faint conception can be obtained of what the American occupation had to face in 1915. It was necessary to declare martial law under the command of an American officer of marines, but a treaty was drawn up in 1916 with a Haitian government, giving the United States extraordinary powers for ten years, with an option of renewal for ten years more. The treaty was loosely drawn, for the United States had not as yet had any experience in armed intervention that fitted the particular situation, but it was stipulated that the United States was to assist Haiti with advice in finance, sanitation, and various forms of "engineering", besides taking over the custom-house for the collection and disbursement of funds and establishing peace through the agency of the United States marines. The lack of precision in this document has necessitated considerable legislation and negotiation in recent years, to put it into effect. As a result the intervention has been a development, rather than something that sprang full-blown into life.

Six advisory departments have grown up, now become five through a merger of two, whose heads are known as "treaty officials", since their posts have been created to carry out the agreement of 1916. Some of these, however, have been brought into existence only in comparatively recent years. Possibly the most important at the outset was the head of the military establishment, for the country was overrun with bandits, almost to the outskirts of the capital itself. It took years of sanguinary warfare before the *cacos*, as the bandits were called, were defeated and suppressed. A spectacular exploit of Lieutenant Hanneken had just previously contributed in great measure to breaking the morale of the *cacos*. With a

mere handful of followers, disguised to resemble cacos, Hanneken invaded the mountain stronghold of a famous native chieftain named Charlemagne, who was generally believed to be immune to bullets, but Hanneken disproved that theory when he dropped him in one shot in the very midst of his band. Meanwhile the military organization had been perfected. At first it was necessary for the marines to do all of the work, but eventually a locally organized gendarmerie, or national police, was formed, commanded by officers of the marines. The latter retained their rating in the marines, but were commissioned anew in the Haitian forces, usually with a higher rank than they held under their own flag. A number, indeed, have advanced from the non-commissioned ranks as sergeants of marines to a lieutenancy in the gendarmes. A parallel movement of preparing Haitian officers has gone on, so that eventually a purely Haitian organization will remain. The task of training the gendarmerie was difficult and slow, but it is now claimed that a really efficient body has been developed. Leading Haitians favor a yet more powerful force, for they realize that Haiti must be ruled by a strong hand, if at all. Theoretically, martial law still continues in Haiti, but there has not been any real exercise of military functions in governmental affairs for a number of years, except for the arrest and punishment of those caught stealing military supplies or committing some other comparatively minor offence. Naturally, the head of the gendarmerie has declined in importance with the return of peace, but the organization, now commanded by General Turrill, continues to be capably and efficiently handled and to receive more than ordinary coöperation of the Haitian officials.

Second in importance only to the commander of the military forces at the outset of the occupation was the receiver-general of customs, since become the foundation stone in the entire system. This is especially the case since the post of financial adviser has been merged with that of receiver-general.

The work of the receiver-general, as such, is purely administrative. His duties were more clearly defined in the treaty than those of the other officials, because the character of his work was better understood. He was to collect all customs-duties, applying the proceeds as follows: five per cent as a maximum for the costs of collection, including one per cent to the bank for acting as the treasurer of the government; interest and sinking fund requirements on all funded debt, present or future; a sum equivalent to \$1,100,000 as a minimum allowance for the gendarmerie; the balance for the general expenditures of the government. It may be remarked that it has proved to be unnecessary to use the full five per cent allowed for costs of collection, and a palace of finance has been built out of a part of the savings effected in this branch of the service.

At the present time the foreign debt is funded in an issue of six per cent bonds due in 1952, with a sinking fund sufficient to retire them by maturity. The original issue of \$16,000,000 has already been cut down by heavier payments than the sinking fund requirement calls for. This issue, listed in New York and payable there, was selling around 98 as this was being written. Following this, but with equal security and amortization provisions, is a \$5,000,000 issue of six per cent domestic bonds, also due in 1952. This is subject to a ten per cent income tax, which means a virtual coupon rate of five one-quarter per cent instead of six, and is payable in Haiti. This sells at present around 80. A third issue, of \$2,660,000 at six per cent, due in 1953, has been brought out to refund the old debt of the National Railway. When listed, these bonds should rate equally well with those first described. The republic may issue bonds up to a total amount of \$40,000,000, but must have the consent of the United States for each series brought out. An irrigation bond issue is in contemplation for the near future.

The financial achievements of the receivership make a fascinating story for those who are able to take an interest in

figures. It is indeed true that receipts were by no means insignificant in certain years prior to the intervention; the record for the fiscal year 1890-1891 shows customs receipts of nearly \$8,200,000, an amount that has never been equalled since. But in periods when the Haitian rulers were not so strong the revenues fell off woefully—for example, to as low as \$2,100,000 in 1907-1908. Then they rose to \$6,700,000 in 1911-1912, after which they fell to some \$3,000,000 in the last year before the intervention. Meanwhile there were no internal revenues at all until 1911-1912, when less than \$200,000 was collected, an amount that was not nearly equalled until 1917-1918, since which time collections have steadily increased until they are expected to reach about \$720,000 in 1924-1925. In round numbers, in millions, customs collections since the intervention have been as follows:

1916-1917	3.6	1919-1920	6.4	1922-1923	5.8
1917-1918	3.	1920-1921	3.6	1923-1924	6.
1918-1919	5.4	1921-1922	4.6	1924-1925	7. (est.)

The figures are even more eloquent upon investigation than they appear at first sight. An attempt has been made to cut down export duties and build up imports. At the start of the intervention, receipts from export duties were fifty per cent greater than from imports. At present, import duties are double those from exports. Coffee, which is seventy per cent in value among Haitian exports, pays ninety per cent of the export duties, with cacao and logwood contributing most of the rest. The "infant industries" of sugar and cotton pay no export duty at all. Foodstuffs as a group form the biggest item in receipts from import duties, with textiles next. Flour is the largest single item. Soap is surprisingly large. Eighty per cent of the imports come from the United States, which takes but nine per cent of the exports, as against sixty-six per cent to France. The United States leads France in total commerce by forty-five per cent to thirty-five.

At the present time the service of the debt calls for about \$2,000,000, with the gendarmerie getting a minimum of a little over \$1,000,000, as already stated, before the ordinary activities of the government are taken care of. That means that over fifty per cent of current receipts are unpledged. The budget allotments of the leading departments at the present time are as follows: public works \$1,200,000; public instruction \$500,000; public health \$300,000; agriculture \$200,000; others scattering, with the Church perhaps worthy of notice as the recipient of \$100,000.

The present incumbent of the double post of receiver-general of customs and financial adviser is Dr. W. W. Cumberland, who is just completing three years of very efficient service. As financial adviser he has been able to enter into matters of policy with regard to disposition of funds. Dr. Cumberland is trying the experiment of running the government as a business man would direct a business. His reports have all the elements of the balance-sheet of a great corporation. He and his predecessors have often had a surplus after all expenditures, until now there is a total surplus of considerably over a million and a perhaps far more than ample reserve of several times that sum against expected obligations. Most of these obligations are on account of claims, which will in all probability be greatly reduced when passed upon. In further attempts to cut down "overhead", Dr. Cumberland has made a practice of prepaying interest and sinking fund of the bonded debt, thus saving many thousands of dollars, and in 1924-1925 he bought up over \$400,000 worth of bonds beyond sinking fund requirements. By far the most important innovation in this branch of the service, however, has been the acquisition of the collection of internal revenue.

The services of Dr. W. E. Dunn were secured to take charge of this work. Dr. Dunn arrived in July 1924, and proceeded at once to put this office on an efficient basis.¹ It was found

¹ It is reported that Dr. Dunn has recently resigned to enter private business.

that many of the laws for collection of internal revenue were scarcely being enforced at all, and many of the collectors in the bureau were not getting in even a respectable fraction of their salaries in revenues. Without the imposition of any new taxes by the Haitian government, the internal revenue jumped to three times what had ever been collected before for an equal period in the first full month of operation, and has made encouraging progress ever since. The work, however, has just begun. Later, it is hoped, some new forms of domestic revenue may be developed, of the sorts that have met the test of experience elsewhere. The only one in contemplation at present is an alcohol tax.

Not much of permanent value can be accomplished in Haiti unless in some way the health of the people may be improved and the system of maintaining it established upon a good basis. Some idea has already been given of the immensity of this problem. Steps to remedy it were necessarily slow in being worked out. At present, however, under the direction of Dr. Charles S. Butler (a commander in the navy) a great expansion in activity is taking place, with the encouragement of the government, which granted some \$569,000 for the year 1924-1925, considerably above the normal budget allotment. The republic has been divided into ten public health districts, in each of which, with one exception, a hospital has been established, presided over by a medical officer of the United States navy. As part of a three year medical program it was planned to supplement these with twenty-five rural dispensaries, to enable the natives to receive treatment in the vicinity of their homes. Sixteen of these have since been completed. The primary function of the public health department is the medical care of the people, but it is also doing as much as it can in the way of public health education, including the training of Haitian nurses and physicians. Wonderful opportunities exist for medical research, but that is a luxury the department cannot afford. The Rockefeller Foundation has just completed a medical survey of the republic, however, and this

should render a great service both in research and in practical immediate benefits to the Haitian people.

Generous as the Haitian government has been up to the limit of its capacities, the thought that strikes the casual visitor to the hospitals is that of the vast amount of work being accomplished on what seems like comparatively limited resources. Often it is possible to have only one full-fledged physician at a hospital, and he may handle as many as three hundred cases a day. This could not be done by any ordinary men; indeed, these physicians must have something of the spirit of self-sacrifice that actuated those famous missionaries of old, who devoted themselves to a life of service in what to the ordinary individual would be most unpleasant surroundings. In this connection a word ought to be said for the Catholic sisters, a body of French women who reflect all that is good and lovely in the idealized "wearers of the veil" of literature. Spectacular achievements in the realm of medicine are common in this service. One comes to mind that was performed by Dr. Laning, the veritably revered chief of the hospital at Cap Haitien. This was the "removal of a woman from a tumor". It was found after the operation that the woman weighed sixty-eight pounds and the tumor seventy-two, and the woman lived! Two weeks later she walked twenty-five miles to pay a visit of gratitude to Dr. Laning! The medical service is doing great things *now*, but it must also be remembered that it is *going ahead*.

All branches of the service are so important in their functions that each one of them seems almost "most important" in what it is doing. Certainly there would be very little worth while in Haiti without the contributions that are being rendered by the department of public works. As already pointed out, this branch has the largest normal appropriation, but the funds at its disposal have been nearly doubled as a result of special grants. Its functions are too many to discuss here, but some of the more prominent have to do with the

building, care, and improvement of roads, irrigation projects, draining of swamps, and the erection and maintenance of lighthouses. The first incumbent as engineer of public works was handicapped by the internal disorder of the country and even more by the lack of explicitness of the treaty of 1916. He had to follow a catch-as-catch-can policy of doing what he could. Eventually peace was established and a public works law of the Haitian government procured that enabled the real work to be undertaken. This was under Commander A. L. Parsons, who served from 1920 to 1924. His policy was to get the work out—as much as possible—for such things as roads and other elements of public works service were needed in any form that they could be brought to the people. Some six hundred miles of roads were built—not the best roads in the world, and roads that do not serve in the rainy season in all parts, but a much-needed start. At that, with the exception of the Dominican Republic and perhaps Venezuela, none of the republics south of the United States has a system of roads nearly so good as that of Haiti—not even a first-class country like Argentina, while the worst sections of the Haitian roads would probably surpass the best that the neighboring and phenomenally wealthy republic of Cuba could show. The present chief of this service is Commander Frederick H. Cooke, who arrived in Haiti in July 1924. He must still follow the policy of “covering the country” that his predecessors employed, but is also improving the facilities that already exist.

Possibly the most interesting of the recent activities of the department of public works is the development of irrigation. One such project in the Artibonite Valley is expected to throw open eighty thousand acres of first-class land, while another, in the Cul de Sac just north of the capital, should prove to be an even bigger affair. The layman cannot imagine the enormous amount of work and study such plans entail. For example, over a hundred rain-gauge stations are being main-

tained, besides five well-equipped river-gauge stations and twenty more where estimates are taken without scientific apparatus. Lighthouses were first inaugurated under Commander Parsons, and have increased from two oil-burners to four and to eleven new ones of standard type. Roads are being supplemented by the building of bridges and improvement of trails, still a necessary means of communication in Haiti. The public buildings of the republic are for the most part new—the work of this same department.

The most recent of the treaty departments to be established is that of the agricultural engineer in connection with the department of agriculture. It was not until 1923 that this branch was created. Dr. George F. Freeman arrived in August of that year, and has since been in charge of the work. The economic development of Haiti depends upon agriculture, and it may fairly be said that every other factor in the national life, social, political, and perhaps even intellectual, rests ultimately upon it. The plan adopted calls for both direct agricultural improvement and vocational training, which also involves the rudiments of a general education. So important is the work of this department considered that the normal budgetary allowance was doubled for the fiscal year 1924-1925, and it is planned to reach an appropriation double that amount by 1927-1928. Just as in the case of the other departments, the republic has been mapped out from an agricultural standpoint, and agricultural schools, experiment stations, and research laboratories have already been established or planned for the near future.

It will be noted that there is not as yet a treaty official concerned with education. The average American, with his unquestioning belief in the all-pervading and wonder-working propensities of a common-school education and with a knowledge of the very complete illiteracy of the Haitian people, would probably think that this was a department that should be attended to first. But the writer submits that education as

the American understands it, far from being a *sine qua non*, is little more than a luxury for a people in the situation of those of Haiti. Health, plenty of good food, and reasonable living conditions must come first. Something is indeed being done by the Haitian government itself, but without the advice and assistance of an American treaty official. It is highly probable that quite as much harm as good results from the educational system actually in vogue. On this score the report of the American high commissioner for 1925 has this to say:

Up to the time of the American intervention the entire school system of Haiti, from the primary grades up, emphasized classical studies almost to the complete exclusion of industrial education. As a consequence, the children and young men of Haiti have been guided *from*, rather than *toward*, productive industry. This is the primary cause of the low productivity of Haiti as contrasted with neighboring countries with soil no more fertile nor climate more favorable than that of Haiti. This emphasis of classical studies and practical exclusion of agricultural and industrial education has necessarily led to the creation of a class of young men who desire to take up professions such as law and medicine, or commercial and clerical occupations, a great portion of the latter seeking governmental positions. The members of this class do not know how to use their hands and have no idea of the dignity of labor. As a result there is a regrettable shortage of agriculturists and skilled workers. It is among such a class that revolutions are bred.

The work of the principal branches of the intervention have now been taken up, but in fact that is only part of the story. It will be noticed that the biggest things have been accomplished in quite recent times. This is due to the introduction of an office that is quite unique in American experience and remarkably effective in operation, that of the high commissioner, a post that has been held since its inception in March 1922 by General John H. Russell of the United States marines.

The various treaty officials had been handicapped because of a certain lack of prestige in dealing with officers of the Haitian government, since no one was superior to another, and also by friction that naturally developed among themselves as a result of rivalries in seeking appropriations. So in 1922 General Russell was sent to Port-au-Prince as the personal representative of the President of the United States to coördinate the work of the other officers of the intervention. Theoretically he has no official relationship to the Haitian government and no power over the American treaty officials, but practically, as the man who has the ear of the President of the United States, he is the head of the entire system, and entitled to the credit for what has been accomplished since his arrival. Some of his specific achievements are the following: the refunding of the old debts and the issue of the various loans already described; the formation of a claims commission, which is still functioning; the reorganization of the national railway—a difficult task, worthy of more extended discussion than can be given here; the establishment of the office of agricultural engineer; and the founding of the bureau of internal revenue. All of the projects of the different departments already described are being worked out as subordinate parts of the high commissioner's plans for the regeneration of Haiti, step by step, until there shall be no further need for American assistance to this government.

Yet one more element in the general situation remains to be discussed, to which some references have already been made, namely, the Haitian government, the coöperation of which is necessary in carrying out any of the objects of the intervention, except so far as the collection of customs is concerned. Theoretically, too, the military branch of the occupation is untrammelled by the native government, but, as already pointed out, the operation of martial law has long since ceased in fact. The treaty officials are supposed to work with those of the national government. They can hold up action

on anything the Haitian government attempts that affects their departments, but can do nothing themselves without Haitian consent. In practice the high commissioner handles the negotiations of the American officials, whose projects are carried forward only if approved by him. A great many upsets and avoidable delays result from this duality of control, some of which are due to honest differences of opinion, but there are others that undoubtedly reflect the evil political tradition that still inheres in Haitian character. Graft is being made difficult by the American authorities, and political jobs are not the sinecure for friends, relatives, and partisans that they would be under a complete Haitian rule. Many of the Haitian politicians, it is said, would secretly rejoice if the improvements and reforms begun by the Americans should fail. Nevertheless, coöperation has been obtained sufficiently to permit of the sweeping advances that have been referred to here. That this is so is due in no small measure to the fact that in President Borno, Haiti has a chief executive who is probably one of the best rulers the republic ever had. He believes frankly in strong government for the Haitians, and so has executed his constitutional prerogative in not calling the Haitian legislature. In a message in which he announced his objections to calling for elections to the legislature for 1926, he referred to what he termed "our bad past, our past of bloody and destructive revolutions, scandalous pillage, and the persecution and exploitation of the peasants by military satraps, masters of life and property", going on to say that the Haitian people were "not ready" for a wide exercise of popular suffrage. In this connection the following words of President Borno are illuminating:

Our rural population, which represents nine-tenths of the Haitian people, is almost totally illiterate, ignorant and poor; although its material and moral situation has been appreciably bettered in these last few years, it is still incapable of exercising the right to vote, and would be the easy prey of those bold speculators whose conscience hesi-

tates at no lie. As for the urban population, one-tenth of the total population, those of its members who are capable of expressing an intelligent vote—a little progressive minority formed of peaceful men, business men, artisans, citizens of different professions, belonging to different social classes—have for a long time for the most part renounced their electoral right, disgusted by the immoral maneuvers and the insolvent frauds which render, and would still render, illusory their efforts as intelligent electors. The remainder is the small group of professional politicians, with their followers of every sort, who are mainly illiterate.

President Borno is governing the republic in conjunction with his ministers and council of state, which is appointed by the president. Naturally, he is bitterly criticized, especially by the politicians who might expect to be members of the legislature, but his course of action differs from that of his predecessors only in that he dominates a small body of men, instead of controlling a hand-picked legislature. He is confident that with the progress Haiti is making with American aid the republic will be able to establish itself on a basis that will make a later intervention unnecessary, an opinion which is shared by the high commissioner.

The writer, frankly, is not quite ready to believe that the achievements of the intervention will be maintained in sufficient degree to enable Haiti to live up to its international obligations in the future, but is of the opinion that the country ought to be given a chance to try it, and then another if necessary. Meanwhile, it is certain that the option for continuance of the intervention until 1936 will be exercised, for much remains to be accomplished before the present occupation can safely be brought to an end. Aside from those things already discussed, perhaps the most important is the reorganization of the judiciary. It is no exaggeration to say that justice does not exist today in the administration of the Haitian courts. Any man of ordinary means or influence need never fear a conviction if he is a Haitian, and no white man can win a suit against a black man. The prisons, under the jurisdic-

tion of American officers of the gendarmerie, are models of cleanliness and good management, but the prisoners have as a rule committed only some petty crime. They are so well fed and otherwise well taken care of that it is a matter of record that there have been some attempts to "break into" jail, but few to break out.

The American officers of the intervention receive little or no praise for their work, either in Haiti or the United States, but they have one advantage in addition to the satisfaction that comes from accomplishing something whether it is recognized or not, and that is that they are living in what is generally agreed among them to be the most delightful country of all the southern republics. A good climate, an extraordinarily low cost of living, and delightful social contacts in their own considerable colony are the ingredients of their comparatively happy situation. It is only fair, however, that they should also have their meed of appreciation from the American people for the services they are rendering.²

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² While this article was based in the main on information gathered in Haiti by the writer, it has also made use of other evidence. Of particular note are the annual reports of the high commissioner, four of which have so far been issued, the latest (for 1924-1925) having been published at Washington in 1926. These contain an exhaustive and remarkably frank statement of conditions by the high commissioner, supplemented in appendices by the reports to him of the treaty officials, at the head of the different branches of the service. The *Monthly Bulletin*, published by the office of the financial adviser-receiver general, is a detailed statement which enables the investigator to keep his information up to date. Many volumes might be named that deal wholly or in part with Haiti. One such is Harry Alverson Franck, *Roaming Through the West Indies* (New York, 1920), which gives a colorful description of the Haitian rural population and the urban politician, and also a dramatic account of Lieutenant Hanneken's exploit. Another is Blair Niles, *Black Haiti, A Biography of Africa's Eldest Daughter* (New York, 1926), which is an interpretation rather than a history of Haiti and its people.

THE RISK OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE (1823-1824)¹

Was there really much risk attached to the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823? Just how great was the danger of intervention by the European powers to uphold Spanish control in Hispanic America? An examination of the sources relating to the independence movement in South America shows that there was not only little prospect of intervention and, therefore, little risk assumed by the United States, but that John Quincy Adams based his demand for a separate statement largely on a belief in the safety of such a step.

Spain alone was unable to make any considerable effort to restore its authority. Spain's only hope, indeed, lay in the aid of its allies. In approaching them the Spanish government was obstinate in its extreme demands, refusing anything less than complete restoration to its old position in Hispanic America. They in turn, if they considered interfering, were unable to agree among themselves on the basis of this interference. It has been shown that at no time in 1823 or 1824 did the continental powers have a practicable policy outlined and ready to be carried out.²

France, of all the continental powers, was the most interested in South America. There was, however, among Frenchmen a conflict of interests and views on French policy. The merchant class desired the opening of the markets of South America, and a considerable body of opinion looked to recognition as the solution of the problem. But this group did not determine the policy of the government, which by the summer

¹ In the preparation of this paper I have had the assistance and encouragement of Professor J. Fred Rippy.

² Dexter Perkins, "Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine", in *American Historical Review*, XXVII. no. 2 (January, 1922).

of 1823 urged a settlement by means of a congress of the powers. The measures the French government would have proposed at such a congress would have been the establishment of independent Bourbon monarchies in the new world. As to the means for effecting such a policy the French ministers were not clear. They seem to have believed that the colonies would have welcomed such an arrangement.³ The Bourbon project was not considered as one of aggression, but rather as a means of reconciling legitimacy with French commercial interest.

Metternich, of Austria, disbelieved in the possibility of the reconquest of Spanish America. In July, 1823, he told the British ambassador at Vienna that all projects for reconquest were hopeless. He expressed the same view to Russia, and in November he urged on Spain a policy that should limit its efforts to the retention of those colonies which still remained faithful and to compromise with those which, on terms of mutual advantage, might consent again to become subject⁴ to the mother country. Russia, at the time of the famous message of Monroe, had determined upon no definite policy.⁵

Thus it may be seen that in December, 1823, the designs on South American liberty were not serious. Russia's views had not been determined, Metternich did not believe in the possibility of reconquest, and France wanted a compromise in the establishment of Bourbon monarchies. In fact, France, in the famous Polignac Conference of October 9-12, 1823, between Polignac and Canning, had pledged itself against the use of force. Prince de Polignac on that occasion assured the English government that his government believed it utterly hopeless to reduce Spanish America to the state of its former relation to Spain, and that France disclaimed

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-211.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

any intention or desire to avail herself of the present condition of the Colonies, or of the present situation of France towards Spain, to appropriate to herself any part of the Spanish possessions in America.⁶

In the early months of 1824 there was more serious discussion of aid to Spain. Russia now took the lead, and in February proposed that the powers in coöperation with Spain seek the means of preparing a Spanish force to support the Spanish royalists in America. But the efforts of Russia in this and two succeeding similar proposals were of no avail. The other allies refused to coöperate in such efforts.⁷ These refusals were largely dictated by the attitude of England, and it was England's opposition that rendered the success of any projected attack on South America impossible. On February 7, Metternich wrote Nesselrode that it was impossible to act without the aid of one of the maritime powers. England was definitely opposed to armed action; France was pledged by the Polignac interview. Assistance to Spain would probably mean war with England and the United States had definitely sided with Hispanic America. Such considerations dictated a policy of inactivity.⁸ Nesselrode wrote to Pozzo di Borgo, Russian Minister, in May, 1824:

Though the Allies, by a strict interpretation of their doctrines, might be bound not to refuse a direct assistance in men and ships to Spain, that power will readily see that so rigid a reconstruction of their engagements will serve no useful purpose while England maintains its present attitude.⁹

Russia stood alone, and under such conditions aid was impossible.

⁶ A memorandum of this conference is found in William R. Manning's *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning the Independence of the Latin-American Nations* (New York, 1925), III. Part viii, no. 799, pp. 1495-1500.

⁷ Perkins, "Europe, Spanish America, and the Monroe Doctrine", *loc. cit.*, pp. 215-217.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

The most important factor in this failure of the allies to intervene was the opposition of England, as we have already intimated. It was to England's interest that the colonies should not return to their old relationship to Spain. The growing commerce with South America was a great factor in determining this attitude as against the return of Spanish control with the consequent restrictions on trade. Moreover, the weakness of Spain and the consequent inability of that country to maintain control in Hispanic America, even were restoration effected, was realized in England. As early as 1816, Adams, at that time minister to England, wrote to James Monroe:

The internal administration of Spain has given so much disgust to the public feeling of Europe, and particularly of this country, that the British Cabinet itself has in some part partaken of it.¹⁰

The recognition of the new American nations by the United States in 1822 had been favorably received in England. The United States minister, Rush, wrote to Adams on January 10, 1822:

. . . The publick voice of the country is manifestly and loudly in its favor. The manufacturers and merchants take the lead, and urge the government to follow our example, rather than arraign it. When to this we add what Lord Londonderry has said upon the subject in parliament, and the step already taken by the lords of the privy council, and the further steps projected in parliament, for encouraging commercial relations with the new-born states in those regions, we should perhaps rather be warranted in inferring that it cannot be very long before our example, will, in effect, be followed. . . .¹¹

In July he wrote again:

. . . If I have accurately understood Mr. Echeverria, and he in turn Lord Londonderry, it is plain that this government has taken in

¹⁰ Adams to Monroe, January 22, 1816, Manning, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States concerning Independence of the Latin-American Nations*, III. Part viii, no. 758, p. 1433.

¹¹ Rush to Adams, June 10, 1822, in *ibid.*, no. 781, p. 1467.

no ill part the act of recognition by the United States. It would seem that it is rather awake to the advantage of our situation which has enabled us to take our own measures freed from the incubus of the Holy Alliance. That Britain will take the step herself at a day not distant, is my confident belief, for whatever present excuses her statesmen may have laid hold of, I can scarcely believe it possible that they will not be roused to it by our rivalry, which they must be sensible will be rendered more formidable and dangerous by every hour of their procrastination.¹²

A note from Canning to the British ambassador in Paris, on March 31, 1823, declared that time and the course of events appeared to have decided substantially the question of the separation of these colonies from the mother country, that England disclaimed any intention of appropriating any part of the Spanish dominions in America and was satisfied that no attempt would be made by France to bring any under its dominion, either by conquest or cession from Spain.¹³ This was sufficient to show that England would hardly be passive under such an attempt by France. In August, Canning told Rush that Great Britain certainly never again intended to lend its instrumentality or aid, whether by mediation or otherwise, toward making up the dispute between Spain and its colonies; but that if this result could still be brought about Great Britain would not interfere to *prevent* it.¹⁴ This was followed by Canning's famous proposal for a joint statement, the terms of which are well known.¹⁵ A month and a half later, in the Polignac conference, Canning again stated England's position:

That the British Government were of the opinion, that any attempt to bring Spanish America again under its ancient submission to Spain, must be utterly hopeless; that all negotiation for that purpose would be unsuccessful; and that the prolongation or renewal of war for the

¹² *Ibid.* to *ibid.*, July 24, 1822, in *ibid.*, no. 783, p. 1468.

¹³ *Ibid.* to *ibid.*, August 19, 1823, in *ibid.*, no 788, p. 1476.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Canning to Rush, August 20, 1823, in *ibid.*, no. 789, pp. 1478-1479.

same object would be only a waste of human life, and an infliction of calamity on both parties, to no end.¹⁶

These facts, if known, were sufficient to make England's attitude apparent both in Europe and America.

And knowledge of the position of Great Britain was the determining factor in the separate statement of the United States regarding South America. Adams thought that the European powers would not fight and believed that Britain's policy was fully determined by its own interests and regardless of our attitude. His belief that intervention was not probable came not by a sudden decision. Since 1818, Adams had been studying the Hispanic American problem as it was connected with the policies of the various European governments concerned. During these five years his ministers at the courts of Europe were instructed to inform him of the attitude and policies of the allies. In these instructions to his diplomats is found evidence that Adams, five years before the Monroe Doctrine was declared, did not fear intervention, and was apparently seeking to confirm his own beliefs concerning the inability of the allies to restore Spanish control in South America. On May 20, 1818, he wrote Rush, American minister at London:

. . . You will observe that if the European alliance, are undertaking jointly to arrange the affairs of Spain and South-America, the United States have so deep an interest in the result, that it will be no more than justice to them on the part of the alliance, to give them clear, explicit, and immediate notice, not only of their acts, but of their intentions—not only of their final decisions, but of the propositions of each of their members. . . .

Declaring that the United States would join in no plan of pacification founded on any other basis than that of complete independence, he continued:

¹⁶ "Memorandum of conference between Prince de Polignac and Canning", in *ibid.*, no. 799, pp. 1495-1500.

It is presumed that this will very soon be, if it is not already the real policy of Great Britain; however, in deference to the powerful members of the European alliance, she may acquiesce in the project of a compromise under the sanction of the alliance, between political resubjugation, and commercial liberty or privileges. We believe this compromise will be found utterly impracticable, at least as a permanent establishment; and we conjecture that the British Cabinet have already made up their minds to the total Independence of South-America, placing little reliance on the issue of this joint negotiation. When they have satisfied their sense of duty to their ties of amity with Spain, it is supposed they will soon discover the great interest of Great Britain in the total Independence of Spanish America, and will promote that event, just so far as their obligations towards Spain will permit. . . .

Among the symptoms of the approach of that period, we cannot overlook the sentiments avowed by Lord Castlereigh, in Parliament, in his answer to some observations of Mr. Lyttleton, in the debate upon the late Slave Trade Abolition Treaty with Spain—The policy which he in that speech recommends of throwing open all the gates of commerce, and the universal approbation with which it was received, show the direction in which the current of opinion is running. . . .¹⁷

About the same time he instructed Gallatin, our minister to France, to inform Richelieu that it would be fair and just to let the United States know what they were doing or intended to do regarding Latin America.¹⁸ On June 28, he wrote George W. Campbell, minister to Russia, regarding this question. Expressing the opinion that the Czar's view seemed to be determined only by the question of supremacy and obedience, since he had no special interests in South America, he continued:

. . . But Great Britain, the other efficient Member of the Alliance, had a great and powerful interest of her own to operate upon her consideration of the case. The Revolution in South-America had opened a new World to her Commerce, which the restoration of the

¹⁷ Adams to Rush, May 20, 1818, *ibid.*, I., Part i, no. 56, pp. 69-70.

¹⁸ Adams to Gallatin, May 19, 1818, in *ibid.*, no. 55, pp. 63-66.

Spanish Colonial Dominion, would again close against her. Her Cabinet therefore devised a middle term, a compromise between Legitimacy and Traffic; a project by which the Political Supremacy of Spain should be restored, but under which the Spanish Colonies should enjoy Commercial Freedom, and intercourse with the rest of the World. She admits all the pretensions of Legitimacy until they come in contact with her own Interest; and then she becomes the patroness of liberal principle, and colonial emancipation.¹⁹

Early in August Rush wrote Adams of the attitude of the British government toward Spain's proposal of mediation of the preceding month. The English answer expressed the opinion that the dispute ought to be healed without overthrowing the political supremacy of the parent state. Touching on commerce, it declared that the trade of the colonies ought to be free to the rest of the world, the mother country being placed upon a footing of reasonable preference. It was very explicit in making it known that Great Britain would do no more than interpose friendly offices, repudiating every idea of compulsion or force, should they fail.²⁰

On August 15, Adams asked Rush a more definite question:

Referring you to my late Letters on the subject of South-American Affairs, I am now directed to enquire what part you think the British Government will take in regard to the dispute between Spain and her Colonies, and in what light they will view an acknowledgment of the Independence of the Colonies by the United States? Whether they will view it as an act of hostility to Spain, and in case Spain should declare War against us, in consequence, whether Great Britain will take part with her in it?²¹

On August 20, the same letter was sent to Gallatin at Paris and to Campbell at St. Petersburg.²² Rush replied on Novem-

¹⁹ Adams to Campbell, June 28, 1818, in *ibid.*, no. 58, pp. 71-74.

²⁰ Rush to Adams, August 3, 1818, in *ibid.*, III., Part viii, no. 765, pp. 1445-1449.

²¹ Adams to Rush, August 15, 1818, in *ibid.*, I., Part i, no. 60, p. 74.

²² Adams to Gallatin, August 20, 1818, in *ibid.*, no. 61, p. 75; Adams to Campbell, August 20, 1818, in *ibid.*, no. 62, p. 75.

ber 20; speaking first of events at Aix la Chappelle, he declared:

From what I can collect in diplomatic circles there exists no serious intention on the part of any of the great sovereigns to take the cause of Ferdinand effectively in hand.

Coming directly to Adams's question he wrote:

IT WILL BE ENOUGH THAT I REPEAT WITH INCREASING CONFIDENCE THE BELIEF WHICH I HAVE HERETOFORE EXPRESSED THAT G. B. WOULD NOT CONSIDER OUR RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ANY OF THE COLONIES AS IN ITSELF CAUSE OF WAR.²³

Sheldon, Charge d'Affaires at Paris during an absence of Gallatin, replied on October 20:

. . . The disposition to afford assistance to Spain in her colonial difficulties still continues; but the manner in which it can be made effectual (other than by a direct and open participation in arms, which the present state of France, and indeed, of all Europe, forbids) has not yet been discovered. It is now thought here that they will be unable, at Aix la Chappelle, to effect any thing upon this point. It is pretty certain that England will oppose any joint interference by the great powers, the result of which would be to throw the whole burden upon her, if it should become necessary to enforce any decision that might be taken; added to which, the weight of public opinion in England, in favor of the colonies is such that the Government would meet with serious difficulties in attempting to support Spain, except upon conditions in relation to the colonies, to which there is no probability she would agree.²⁴

Gallatin himself replied on November 5:

. . . IT CAN NOT be doubted that the RECOGNITION OF THE INDEPENDENCE of any of the SPANISH COLONIES will be viewed MOST UNFAVORABLY and will affect our STANDING, IF NOT OUR RELATIONS WITH THIS COURT. . . .

²³ Rush to Adams, November 20, 1818, in *ibid.*, III., Part viii, no. 766, pp. 1449-1450.

²⁴ Sheldon to Adams, October 20, 1818, in *ibid.*, II., Part vii, no. 722, p. 1385.

But I am at the same time clearly of opinion that whatever course SPAIN MAY PURSUE, and however displeased this GOVERNMENT may be with OUR CONDUCT in that respect, FRANCE WILL NOT JOIN WITH SPAIN IN A WAR AGAINST US on that account, and that SHE WILL USE HER endeavors TO PREVENT that country FROM ENGAGING IN it. I think that RUSSIA WILL ALSO BE DISPLEASED AND will nevertheless unite with FRANCE IN PREVENTING A WAR.²⁵

Campbell from St. Petersburg wrote in reply:

. . . IT IS MY PRESENT OPINION THAT THE EMPEROR OF RUSSIA WILL USE HIS INFLUENCE TO RECONCILE THE SPANISH COLONIES TO THE PARENT STATE, AND THAT HE WOULD VIEW IN AN UNFAVORABLE LIGHT AN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THOSE COLONIES BY OUR GOVERNMENT, AND WOULD IN SUCH EVENT BE INCLINED TO INDUCE THE ALLIED POWERS TO INTERPOSE IF THERE WAS A PROSPECT OF SUCCESS, TO PREVENT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH EXTENSIVE INDEPENDENT STATES AND THE CONSEQUENT SPREAD OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES; BUT THAT HE WOULD NOT SEPARATELY UNITE WITH SPAIN IN A WAR AGAINST THE UNITED STATES. FOR THOUGH HIS MILITARY IS ENORMOUS, ESTIMATED AT MORE THAN A MILLION OF THE BEST DISCIPLINED TROOPS IN EUROPE, YET THE BETTER OPINION SEEMS TO BE, THAT HIS TRUE CHARACTER IS THAT OF A CALCULATING POLITICIAN, THAT HE DOES NOT POSSESS IN A DISTINGUISHED DEGREE MILITARY TALENTS, AND IS NOT INCLINED TO ENGAGE IN WAR. . . .²⁶

The efforts of 1818 at mediation failed. On November 7, Gallatin, in a letter to Adams, credited England with this failure. In the following year after Adams made his inquiries regarding European attitudes on the possible recognition by

²⁵ Gallatin to Adams, November 5, 1818, in *ibid.*, no. 723, pp. 1386-1390.

²⁶ Campbell to Adams, December 10/22, 1818, in *ibid.*, III., Part xii, no. 1012, pp. 1859-1860.

the United States, Rush wrote of the growing favor in England of South American independence:

As far as I may judge from all indications of opinion within the compass of my observations, the cause of South American freedom continues to ripen in the judgment and affections of the British publick. I consequently continue to hold to the belief, and even more strongly than heretofore, that whenever it may be thought to comport with a wise policy in all other respects for the government of the United States to recognize Buenos Ayres, that the British government will not consider such a measure, *per se*, as any cause of breach with us. . . .²⁷

And in the spring of 1822 came our recognition of the South American neighbors. The manner in which the news of this action was received in Europe was reported to Adams by his various ministers. It has been seen above that England gave it a very favorable reception. This favorable reception by England probably had its effect in other countries. Gallatin wrote from Paris:

The recognition of the independence of the Spanish American provinces by the United States was rather unexpected. . . . I think, however, that it is not generally unfavorably received, and this principally on account of the hatred of all the Governments against that of Spain. Great Britain of course likes it and will be glad of a pretence to do the same thing substantially, though probably not in the same fair and decisive way. The other lesser maritime powers have the same feelings. Russia has now other objects to engross her attention. The continental powers are indifferent about it.²⁸

Henry Middleton, minister to Russia, wrote to Adams in July of a conversation with a Russian minister concerning our recognition:

The reply of the Minister was made in a tone which impressed me with the belief that he in some degree assented to the justness of my

²⁷ Rush to Adams, August 24, 1819, in *ibid.*, III., Part viii, no. 771, pp. 1456-1457.

²⁸ Gallatin to Adams, April 26, 1822, in *ibid.*, II., no. 730, pp. 1396-1397.

observations. His manner and language taken together encouraged me to think that the policy we had pursued in relation to the South American question had as yet in no degree impaired our good standing with the Emperor. . . .²⁹

Less than six months before President Monroe's message to Congress Gallatin wrote Adams from New York of a recent conversation with Chateaubriand about France's actions in Spain at that time:

. . . If France was successful in her attack on Spain and afterwards attempted either to take possession of some of her colonies, or to assist her in reducing them under their former yoke, I was of opinion that the United States would oppose every undertaking of this kind and that it might force them into an alliance with Great Britain. Mr. de Chateaubriand answered in the most explicit manner that France would not make any attempt whatever of that kind or in any manner interfere in the American questions. If he was sincere, he must have received some hint from the British Government similar to mine; for you may recollect that declaration that the armies and fleets of France would be at the disposal of Spain whenever Ferdinand was restored to his former power.

I have spoken in the same manner and as explicitly on that subject to the Ambassador of Russia; and I added that the Spanish colonies might remain such as long as it suited them, but that, if not Spanish colonies, they must be altogether independent, and that we would not consider the establishment of a Bourbon or European Prince in Mexico or Peru as tantamount to independence. . . .

Gallatin closes by expressing the opinion that Borgo seemed to coincide with him in this opinion.³⁰

These communications of the preceding five years from the different courts of Europe were probably uppermost in the mind of Adams when he advocated a separate statement by the United States. To these were added Canning's proposal of August for a joint statement of policy between Great Britain and the United States, which clearly showed the position of England. He had no doubt that England's position

²⁹ Middleton to Adams, July 8/20, 1822, in *ibid.*, III., no. 1018, pp. 1866-1867.

³⁰ Gallatin to Adams, June 24, 1823; in *ibid.*, II., no. 731, pp. 1397-1398.

was dictated by its own interests and that no interference would be allowed, no matter what action the United States took on Canning's proposal. While engaged in discussions on what action our government should take, Adams received confirmation of the reports that British consular agents had been appointed to various ports of the South American countries.³¹ This was further evidence of the constancy of British policy. This confidence of Adams in the safety of the undertaking is clearly seen in his *Memoirs*. On November 13, 1823, he wrote of a visit to the President:

I find him yet altogether unsettled in his own mind as to the answer to be given to Mr. Canning's proposals, and alarmed, far beyond anything that I could have conceived possible, with the fear that the Holy Alliance are about to restore immediately all South America to Spain. Calhoun stimulates the panic, and the news that Cadiz has surrendered to the French has so affected the President that he appeared entirely to despair of the cause of South America. He will recover from this in a few days; but I never saw more indecision in him. . . .³²

Of a cabinet meeting on November 15, he wrote:

. . . Calhoun is perfectly moon-struck by the surrender of Cadiz, and says the Holy Allies, with ten thousand men, will restore all Mexico and all South America to the Spanish dominion.

I did not deny that they might make a temporary impression for three, four, or five years, but I no more believe that the Holy Allies will restore the Spanish dominion upon the American continent than that the Chimborazo will sink beneath the ocean. . . .³³

In a cabinet meeting of November 25, Attorney General Wirt raised the question as to whether this proposed declaration of policy by the executive could constitutionally bind the United States to war in case the allies did intervene. He remarked "upon the danger of assuming the attitude of menace without meaning to strike, and asked, if the Holy Alliance should act in direct hostility against South America whether

³¹ Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams* (Philadelphia, 1874), VI. 189.

³² *Ibid.*, VI. 185.

³³ *Ibid.*, VI. 186.

this country would oppose them by war".³⁴ Adams had to admit that the proposed action committed the nation only so far as the executive was concerned. The power to declare war rested solely in the hands of congress. Not only, then, was there little danger of intervention because of the inability of the allies to agree and the practical surety of England's opposition, but in case they did attack, America was not pledged to fight by this pronouncement. That drastic step would have to be decided by congress when the movement began.

Adams's shrewdness in taking advantage of the situation to add to the prestige of the United States commands admiration. He saw the chance to make a bold statement of American policy against which there was little danger of attack from the allies and in support of which England would fight because its own interests dictated such action. Canning declared to Bagot on January 22, 1824:

I have very little doubt that the President was encouraged to make his declaration about the South American States by his knowledge of our sentiments.³⁵

Mr. Harold Temperley in his recent work on the *Foreign Policy of Canning* puts it well in these few words:

. . . He knew England attached great importance to the attitude of the United States, he knew also that England would fight France if she assailed Spanish America. "My reliance upon the coöperation of Great Britain", he said later, "rested not upon her principles, but her interest". It was, therefore, safe for the United States to act alone, and to proclaim a separate policy. In this way he would "make up an American policy, and adhere inflexibly to that" and, at the same time, he would prevent the United States from circulating as a satellite in the orbit of Great Britain.³⁶

W. F. CRAVEN, JR.

Duke University.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, VI. 202.

³⁵ Harold Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning* (London, 1925), p. 126.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and the New. By ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, Professor of History in Harvard University. 4 vols. Vol. III: *The Emperor* (New York: Macmillan Company. 1925. Pp. xxiv, 695. \$5.50.)

After a wait of seven years since the publication of the first two volumes in Merriman's great work on the Spanish Empire the third has at length appeared. It is concerned wholly with the period of the Emperor Charles V., divided into two "Books" entitled respectively "Spain in the Old World" and "Spain in the New World", with the former comprising six of the ten chapters. The treatment is topical. The "Old World" chapters take up such phases of the reign as the Spanish civil wars, rivalries with France, conflict with the Moslem peoples of the Mediterranean, and questions growing out of the Reformation movement successively, rather than according to a chronological plan, while the "New World" chapters treat primarily of Magellan, Cortés, and Pizarro in turn. Each "Book" has one institutional chapter, mainly political.

Naturally, there is much about Merriman's treatment that is reminiscent of his methods in the two volumes which preceded this.¹ The author is still a latter-day Prescott, interested in narrative political history on its diplomatic and military side and in personages more than peoples. The same mastery of materials is in evidence, and the same manner of presenting them in ample notes at the end of each chapter is followed here. And the book is so carefully formulated and so well written that it is easy to read. The same unity of theme, on the basis of Spanish empire as a story of expansion, carries the author in this volume outside the Iberian Peninsula for most of his tale, but one is never allowed to forget that Spain was the head and center of the whole movement.

The reviewer believes that this volume is less open to criticism on account of mistakes than either of its predecessors. From the stand-

¹For an extensive survey of volumes one and two by this reviewer, see *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, I, no. 4, pp. 435-441.

point of subject-matter the author is probably more conversant with the period covered by the "Old World" part of the present volume than with any other portion of the long and complicated series of events he has proposed to deal with in his four volumes. On that account, only those who have made the most minute studies in this field are likely to find any errors. For that same reason, however, one may be led to expect too much of the author. The story in its details over such a well-known period is inevitably a familiar one. The reviewer imagines that Merriman must have found great difficulty in condensing it into its allotted space, leaving scant room for anything strikingly new. This is not to say that there is no contribution here in the incidents of his tale. To be sure, printed works are the main reliance of the author, and he repeats his earlier expressed conviction

that the amount of practically unutilized printed material for Spanish history still remains so vast, that it is quite as important that it should be thoroughly explored as that extensive researches should be made for something new.

For a work of such broad scope as Merriman's this is undoubtedly true, and the author's use of volumes of that class is virtually a contribution, certainly so in English, if not in Spanish. Nevertheless, one finds noteworthy items here and there that are based on manuscript sources, made available in print for the first time.

More interesting than details, however, is a certain freshness in point of view, giving new meaning to events already well known. The cross-currents growing out of the exaggerated Spanish individualism are clearly to the fore. The emergence of Spain from its medieval isolation into first rank as a world power is strikingly portrayed as something thrust upon it for the dynastic ends of the Hapsburgs. Meanwhile the emperor himself, who begins his career as an unsympathetic foreigner, grows more and more Spanish in the background of his imperial point of view. He makes Spain great, but also makes it pay the price in blood, treasure, and loss of self-government, and Merriman questions whether as a long pull proposition Spain profited by the deal. The author shows how Spanish America evolved from an obstruction along the route to the East Indies to a region that was far more important than the rest of the empire and the principal financial resort for the Hapsburg policies in Europe. He remembers medieval Spanish parallels in dealing with the New World

conquest,—that it was in a measure “a prolongation of the Crusades”, and that many Spanish institutions were revived, as for example in the case of the importance of the municipalities, which eventually gave way before centralization and absolutism as they had done long since in Spain.

It not infrequently happens that the historian of broad views as concerns subject-matter is a little careless in the minutiae of technical workmanship. If that was notably the case in Merriman’s first two volumes, it is still to some extent true, especially with respect to inconsistencies and inaccuracies in the use of accents on Spanish words. In all other particulars, however, there is less grist for the critic than in the other volumes. In any event it is not a vital matter in the present series, for the author’s evident care in the use of his materials appears in other ways. The reviewer wishes, however, that these minor defects might be eliminated if the volumes are ever issued in a second edition.

Though it has nothing to do with the book, as such, it may be not inappropriate to mention that the author wrote the present volume under difficulties, following an injury to his eyes, that make his work all the more praiseworthy as a magnificent human achievement and that, incidentally, reinforce the parallelism between him and Prescott. It is to be hoped, however, that his fourth and concluding volume may not long be delayed in publication.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

University of California.

Pinckney’s Treaty. A Study of America’s Advantage from Europe’s Distress, 1783-1800. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS, PH.D., Professor of History, George Washington University. The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History. 1926. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1926. Pp. xii, 421. \$3.00.)

The two decades following the Revolutionary War constitute the formative years in our diplomacy as well as in our domestic policy. Professor Bemis has wisely devoted himself to a thorough study of the outstanding treaties of this period and in the present volume has given us a fit companion to the earlier offering on Jay’s Treaty. The connection between the two pacts is so close that he could hardly make an adequate study of the one without accumulating the raw

materials for the second, and we may express the hope that he also has on hand the wherewithal for a third study, touching on our relations with France during the same period.

Our negotiations with Spain during these critical years fall naturally into two periods. The first comprises the negotiations under the Confederation, including Jay's trying experience in Spain, 1780-82. Gardoqui is easily the chief figure of this period and he surpasses in interest the able and worthy, but somewhat susceptible, Jay himself. We learn that the Spanish minister, during his five years' stay in New York, had an adequate expense account and that he was able to make a tolerable impression with it in that political and commercial center. Through the chapters devoted to this episode we learn that entertainments, "loans", presents (including blooded livestock), colonial projects, and separatist intrigues, were closely mixed up with discussions of boundaries, frontier clashes, Indian forays, commercial advantages, and sectional controversies. Wilkinson, Sebastian, and their Kentucky associates were not the only persons of doubtful loyalty, although the first named remains *facile princeps* of this malodorous group. In the study of Wilkinson's machinations, however, the author does not give us as much new material as we had hoped for. Possibly Green and Shepherd have exhausted the documentary sources for the early stages of his intrigues with the Spaniards, but the reviewer, for one, would like to see a thorough re-study of this whole episode—a study that would include the Kentucky material as well as that in the Spanish archives.

The second period in the Spanish negotiations begins with the Nootka Sound affair and extends to the episodes connected with the long delay in ratifying the treaty. As in the former period Mr. Bemis continues to emphasize the strictly diplomatic features, although he does not wholly neglect the frontier element. This phase of our relations, we are given to understand, is to be treated by Dr. Arthur Whitaker in a forthcoming study. The two authors have displayed a commendable spirit of coöperation and we have in the present work some of the results of Whitaker's research. In this second period Jay figures largely through absent treatment, but Bemis claims that the impression created in Spain by his treaty was the compelling force that led the Spanish minister to make favorable terms with Pinckney. Gardoqui still plays his part in the negotiations, but it is a minor one. The chief rôle really belongs to Wil-

liam Short and it is a pity that his name is not associated with the more presentable Pinckney on the title page. He wholly prepared the ground for the negotiation and was naturally much mortified to have the honor taken from him at the moment when success seemed within his grasp. Such, however, seem to be the ways of diplomacy. Pinckney had had the same mortifying dose a few months before, when Jay came to London, and his own journey to Madrid was in a way a sop to his pride. Unfortunately there was nothing further on for Short and the activities of our first "career diplomat" came to an untimely end. Pinckney arrived in Spain at the psychological moment for success, when Spanish officials were most concerned over the recent treaty between Great Britain and the United States and feared the worst, and consequently were in a mood to make concessions. Taking advantage of this fact Pinckney was able to extract from the reluctant Godoy all that we could reasonably expect in the way of boundaries and commercial privileges. Likewise, two and a half years later, when war between France and the United States seemed inevitable, Godoy felt impelled to direct the carrying out of the treaty, in order to forestall any possible attack on Spanish territory by the combined forces of England and the United States.

These two instances and a number of others, when it seemed that Spain must make some concession to American claims, will serve to explain the sub-title of this book. The United States certainly did profit from the necessities of Spain and the tortuous course of European diplomacy during this period. We had skilled diplomats at the strategic posts and we introduced into our dealings with the various governments to which they were accredited a frank and salutary directness. But mere honesty in purpose and method would not have secured for us such substantial concessions as were registered in the Treaty of the Escorial. A fortunate misapprehension on the part of Godoy gave us the Natchez District and the privilege of deposit at New Orleans. This may have been that minister's initial blunder, but his subordinates could hardly have held back the exasperated frontiersmen much longer. Natchez and the navigation of the Mississippi were bound to come to us, soon or late, and in time the Floridas, Louisiana, and the rest of the territory that intervened between the Mississippi and the Pacific. Europe's necessities simply enabled us to acquire them a little sooner, and so far as the initial acquisitions were concerned, without a war. We thus established a reputation

for peaceful expansion, except among Indians and Mexicans, and we did not lose this until the end of the nineteenth century. In this respect Europe's necessities gave us repute as well as territory and both were cheaply acquired.

A second point stressed by Bemis is the proposal by Spain of an alliance with the United States. This proposal was made on more than one occasion and was accompanied with the proviso that the United States, in entering into such an alliance (which might also include France) should along with the rewards anticipated from the compact, agree to guarantee the remaining possessions of Spain in the Americas. Perhaps this proposal involved too much self-denial on the part of the weak but ambitious new nation. Certainly there were in it elements of danger that the prudent Washington would be inclined to avoid. The author thinks that Washington had such proposals in mind when a little later in his "Farewell Address" he warned his fellow-countrymen against entangling alliances. Viewed in the light of Spain's proposals that famous warning has a meaning far different from the one that some have lately tried to read into it.

As might be expected Professor Bemis has made extensive use of manuscript material. His footnotes attest the value of the transcripts from the Spanish and other European archives, to be found in Washington and other centers of our country. He has found the "Short Papers", now in the Library of Congress, a valuable source for his study. His references show personal familiarity with the Spanish archives and his phraseology a keen sense of Spanish life and court procedure. His style is vivid, his character sketches are interesting, his diction is attractive, and his conclusions are generally sound and always well documented. There are more typographical slips than is fitting in a work of this sort and a few minor errors. The maps are extremely helpful, the appendices are worth while, and the index adequate.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Northwestern University.

The Intellectual Background of the Revolution in South America, 1810-1824. By BERNARD MOSES, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York: The Hispanic Society, 1926. Pp. x, 234.)

This is the eighth—and possibly the last—volume of a noted pioneer among those scholars of the United States who have devoted themselves to Hispanic-American studies. At the beginning of his

preface the author remarks: "This sketch might have become a book if the light had not failed". There is a world of pathos in this one sentence, particularly when it is remembered that Professor Moses has now reached a ripe old age. The book is indeed little more than a sketch, but it is a fitting culmination to the valuable work of its author—from the standpoint of style, interpretation, and mellow thought, the best thing that he has produced. Indeed, the merit of the volume does not lie so much in the presentation of new facts as in a new and sometimes almost brilliant interpretation of the facts already known.

There are eleven brief chapters in the book. The first chapter portrays the intellectual interests and atmosphere of the various classes in the Spanish colonies and shows how the interests and this atmosphere were created and maintained. The second describes the influx of foreign ideas into the colonies. The third gives an account of the growth of liberalism and the democratic spirit among the creoles. The fourth—inadequately described by its heading—deals with the attitude of the colonial churchmen, the influence of religious ideas and superstitions, and the discussions which took place with reference to religious toleration. The remaining chapters set forth the ideas—mainly political—of the intellectual leaders of the period. Despite occasional obscurities and minor defects in organization, it is one of the most stimulating books ever written on this interesting epoch and whoever reads it will have a better understanding both of the wars of independence and of the years of chaos which followed. Especially helpful are the frequent comparative and contrasting references which the writer makes to developments during the early national period of the United States. The bibliography, footnotes, and index are excellent.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836. By EUGENE C. BARKER, Professor of American History in the University of Texas. (Dallas: Cokesbury Press, 1925. Pp. xv, 551. Illus. \$5.00.)

Just at the time when a new school of historians is insisting that enough technical research work has been done to enable a change of emphasis to interpretation of established facts, it is refreshing to turn

to a book in which the author starts with the statement that his work is "primarily factual and direct rather than interpretative". As a justification of the continuation of careful research this book is a masterpiece. Professor Barker devoted some twenty-odd years to a study of the career of "an unobtrusive, unassuming man", who "has never been the subject of a biographical study", and the result is a contribution of immeasurable value to the field of historical knowledge. Every student and every teacher of American history has known in a vague way of Stephen F. Austin and the Anglo-American colonization of Texas, but the vagueness of the knowledge has made it easy to follow unsound generalizations of writers whose interpretations have been based upon insufficient evidence. There is no longer an excuse for such a condition. In a large measure the history of Texas from 1821 to 1836 is the biography of Austin. Hence it is to be expected that a study of his career would throw new light upon such questions as the influence of slavery in the colonization of Texas, the relations between Anglo-Americans and Mexican officials, and the attitude of the Texans toward annexation to the United States. The author lives up to expectations, for through his logical method of approach and array of evidence it becomes clear that economic conditions in the United States, rather than slavery, furnished the greatest incentive for emigration. The Fredonian rebellion and other disturbances are reduced to their proper place either as insignificant demonstrations on the part of men who could not understand the Mexican point of view, or as sincere efforts to secure necessary adjustments to meet local problems; and the reluctance of the Texans to consider separation from Mexico is unquestionably reflected in the expressions of Austin himself as their leader.

In spite of the author's prefatory declaration, the book is not devoid of interpretation. In every case, however, the interpretation is a synthesis of the facts which have been determined by his own research rather than a blind acceptance of the work of other writers. Viewed in this light, the long chapter on the Robertson colony controversy no longer appears to be a digressive mass of details, but is an essential restatement of facts from which a logical conclusion is drawn. The real interpretative nature of the book is immediately apparent to the reader who is already familiar with Professor Barker's published articles dealing with specific problems of Texan history. The tempta-

tion to incorporate these in the book must have been strong, and too many writers would have succumbed; but here one finds, not a reprint of previously published materials, but an intelligent, synthetical use of those materials.

As to its organization and literary style there is ground only for admiration. Just as Austin himself remained ever steadfast to one purpose—the promotion of the best interests of Texas—so his biographer has never lost sight of his central theme—Stephen F. Austin as the father of Texas—and has told a direct story in language which is a model for its simplicity and beauty. There are no futile efforts to apply psychological tests; no drawing of conclusions on insufficient evidence. This explains the least satisfying part of the book, namely: the inconclusive treatment of the last two years of Austin's life. The shadow of land speculations by both friends and enemies still obscures the real problems of those years, and more research is needed before this question can be understood. That this shortcoming is not due to lack of diligence is attested by a footnote (p. 324) explaining that after a search of several years for the Mason papers, "the writer, in the summer of 1922, overtook the ashes of these papers in Detroit, Michigan, just six weeks after they were thrown in the furnace". Would that he had given us more such glimpses of the labors and disappointments involved in the historian's pursuit of the truth!

For the student of United States-Mexican relations the book is especially pertinent just now as an indication of what might have been if the United States could have used men who possessed the temperament, the patience, the tact, and the intelligent insight of Stephen F. Austin in dealing with its neighbors to the South. It should be placed on the required reading list of every agent of this country in Hispanic America.

WILLIAM C. BINKLEY.

Colorado College.

Church and State in Mexico, 1822-57. By WILFRID HARDY CALLCOTT. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1926. Pp. 357.)

Possibly Professor Callcott could improve his writing under the drip of Creel's swift pen jabs. Certainly one way whereby historians can stay the rising tide of "popular interpretations" will be to trick out their researches with a little more vivacious expression. We have plenty of "good English" among our researchers, but in America

how many historical writers can coax another hour from dutiful readers by reason of their entertaining style? We are not seven. The new appeal to historical writers to be interesting as well as faithful to truth may do something toward making it easier to get real research printed.

This, Professor Callcott's maiden work, has the earmarks of scholarship. It is the result of painstaking investigation. There are slight slips in fact here and there, but there is generous appreciation of the fact that the question of Church and State began four hundred years ago, and that the crux of the problem lies in opposite ideas of social practice. So the author is not prone to find anything in the move toward nationality in Mexico, merely because its leaders are doctrinarians, egocentric, not a little bit crooked at times. He does not expect to see the Kingdom of Man arrive with the birth of democracy, but he believes that both are on their way, and through separation of the functions of Church and State.

The temper of the book is rational. There is no vehemence of bias, though the Church gets scant acknowledgment for its contribution to American civilization. The facts are clearly set forth, with a minimum of interpretation; and this is where the verve and movement is lacking. This will come in time, if haply. What is needed is a book that will carry the story through the Intervention, the Restored Republic, Diaz, and the current Revolution. North Americans are entitled to know this story from its inception to its recent phases. There are happy intimations that the author is essaying the task.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

University of California.

The People Next Door, An Interpretive History of Mexico and the Mexicans. By GEORGE CREEL. (New York: The John Day Company.)

Mr. Creel, with an established reputation as a clever writer and director of war propaganda, here "salutes the threshold of history" with all the limitation which might be inferred from his experience and lack of it. One is genuinely interested in the title, for we need, both as scholars and as citizens, such mental pabulum as would assuredly be found in such a wrapper. But upon opening the book, the reader will find that one-third of it is about Texas and the Mexican War, not from the Mexican, but the American standpoint. This has

all been done many times before, notably and exhaustively by Justin H. Smith, and Creel does that author the gentle compliment of calling him "all that a historian should be", and then appropriating very generously throughout five chapters or so from the model. "The majority" of other historians are liars and dull repeaters of lies, so Mr. Creel vociferates, through page after page, flogging his Rocinante against the windmills of Bancroft's *Mexico* in the most approvable journalese. So much space is consumed in telling how bad Bancroft's histories are, that there is no room to tell the three hundred years of Mexican colonial history, upon which the modern structure rests, or to acknowledge anywhere a debt for guidance to that same Bancroft, without whose pioneer guidance in writing and wizard power of collecting sources on Mexico, very few modern students will venture an essay. The fact is that Bancroft used Lucas Alamán's works with ample citation and justification, and Mr. Creel, damning Alamán as the "black brain" of Mexican history, follows Alamán's story as far as it goes with something like meekness unaware.

The vehemence of the author's condemnation will make the "popular" reader reject much of this rhodomontade; the historians will not be deeply moved. The fact that the significance of the social structure of colonial days has not registered save in the old style of the anti-popey English critics of Spain, leaves us unexpectant of adequate interpretation of the twentieth century revolution. Mr. Creel has given a rational interpretation of the Diaz régime, and he sees Woodrow Wilson as a liberal friend of Mexico. Carranza simply had no good points at all. As a matter of fact, none of the Mexicans have had, save Hidalgo, Juárez, and Calles. If the salvation of Mexico is to come out of proper "understanding" in the United States, it must be on some other basis than the belief that all the bad Mexicans are dead and all the living ones (on Calles's side) are good. Any child could discern the illogic. But it is more than true that the United States is largely responsible for very many of Mexico's troubles, as Creel says. At the same time, though he doesn't say it, the United States has frequently saved the very existence of the Mexican State. And it is within the protection of the Monroe Doctrine that the Hispanic states are at liberty to rail at the United States, cry down imperialism and sigh for Calvo Doctrines and European contacts. But no one of them would like to see Monroe's policy reversed.

Mr. Creel's book will take care of itself among the populace of liberal tendencies for its trenchant style will give it wide appeal. The historians will not take it at all seriously; and the Mexicans certainly will have something to say about its shortcomings in interpretation.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

University of California.

Spanish Alta California. By ALBERTA JOHNSTON DENIS. (New York: Macmillan, 1926. Pp. x, 437.)

So-called "popular" history writing has its many devotees and judging from the recurrent crop its many readers. What Mrs. Denis has done here is to render anew, from proper authorities, the story of the Spaniards (only) on the Pacific Slope. By a rare combination of judgment and fitness, she gives ample acknowledgment of her obligation to her predecessors in the field. The rendition of the story is chronological and topical, with voyagers, missionaries, and governors engrossing the attention. Once an historical character is introduced, the author is at pains to get him safely off stage in due form. This care is at some sacrifice in interpretation, but it needs be remembered that little of significance during the period, and few or none of the available documents, have been neglected. The story reads extremely well, save that in places involved constructions perplex. The whole Southwest ought to rise up and call Mrs. Denis blessed for using and spelling her Spanish correctly and for refusing to mawk her incidents over with a pale cast of pretended romance. Imagine romance faring happily with Lasuén or those old governors! When our writers of fiction get half this sanity, we shall have a new sense of Spanish values in North America.

This critic would have liked to see a table of contents; chapters are easier to read by title. Footnotes are, it is ventured, easy to "skip" if one doesn't want to see them; but authorities cited by name only, in parenthesis and without the title or page citation, detract from ease in reading without giving a proper feeling of security in authority. But these things are largely matters of personal taste unless one aspires to the less popular fame of the professional historian.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

University of California.

Commercial Travelers' Guide to Latin America. By ERNEST B. FILSINGER. Second revised edition. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1926. [Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Miscellaneous Series, No. 89.] Pp. x, 617. Pocket map. \$1.25.)

Peru—A Commercial and Industrial Handbook. By W. E. DUNN. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925. [Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Trade Promotion Series, No. 25.] Pp. 530. \$1.25.)

That a government publication of over six hundred pages should be sold by the thousands of copies, and appear in thoroughly revised form twice within a period of six years is of itself mute testimony to the merit of the publication. Such is the fact regarding the *Commercial Travelers' Guide to Latin America*.

The second revised edition (1926) contains 617 pages as compared with the 734 in the revision of 1922. Condensation and omission of unessential material make a more convenient volume. This guide is an indispensable vademecum for any traveler in Hispanic America, especially the commercial traveler. It bristles with information that is up-to-date and obtainable nowhere else in such compact form—Transportation facilities, What to do on arrival, Climate, Clothing, Salesman's Equipment—and this information is all gleaned at first hand by experts. The body of the book treats of the individual Hispanic American republics, especially from a commercial point of view. When to sell, where to sell, and how to sell in Hispanic America have never been better discussed than here. A bibliography of some five hundred books and articles, an index of ten pages and a detailed map of the area add greatly to the usefulness of the book.

Peru—A Commercial and Industrial Handbook (1925) was compiled by Dr. W. E. Dunn, while Commercial Attaché at Lima. Its 530 pages afford an accurate and detailed description of the historical background, the agricultural, mining, and industrial development of the country, and of the opportunities for American manufacturers in Peru.

Our total trade with Peru amounts to over \$50,000,000. Our capital and technical experience are coöperating in developments which will raise the level of living in that country and increase its importance

in world trade and politics. Some \$300,000,000 of foreign capital is invested there. The largest share is held by Great Britain but American investments amount to approximately \$100,000,000. Most of this is vested in the mining property and railroad of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation which has practically doubled its holdings within the past few years. The Standard Oil Company, the American Smelting and Refining Company, the Vanadium Corporation of America, and W. R. Grace and Co. have a large part in developing Peruvian resources. American money is also invested in sugar estates, textile mills, banks, and in the public debt.

This book divides the country into economic districts and shows the potential as well as the actual markets for foreign goods in each area. Nothing is overlooked. The prospective traveler can find out everything necessary from what clothes to wear, where the water is potable and why umbrellas are unnecessary in southern Peru, to the possibilities for the sale of agricultural machinery in the cultivation of Peruvian cotton. Not the least of the remarkable achievements of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce since 1920 is the issuance of numerous authoritative and up-to-date volumes such as these two dealing with Hispanic America.

HARRY T. COLLINGS.

University of Pennsylvania.

The Old Mission Churches and Historic Houses of California: Their History, Architecture, Art and Lore. By REXFORD NEWCOMB. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1925. Pp. xvii, 379. Colored frontispiece, illus., maps, plans, index. \$15.00.)

So many authors have written of the Franciscan missions of California that one might, indeed, be excused for wondering at the appearance of another book. But even a hasty examination of Mr. Newcomb's volume will dispel wonder, and he who reads it through will find much of pleasure and profit. The work is by no means a repetition of others that have preceded it. The emphasis is here laid on the architectural features of the mission houses, as well as of several historic residences of California, but many historical data are necessarily included.

The book is "the result of six years' field work in California and continuous research throughout a period of thirteen years", (p. v) concerning the buildings of a bygone day in California,

the ruins of which recall for us, as nothing else can, the interesting political movements of the late eighteenth century that brought our Pacific Coast for the first time into contact with European civilization (p. v).

It divides naturally into three parts, namely: "Environmental Backgrounds" (chapters I-VI); "The Old Missions" (chapters VII-XXV); and "The Historic Houses" (chapters XXVI-XXIX), with a concluding chapter (XXX) on "Modern Hispanic Architecture". There are also three short, but valuable, appendices, namely: a list of the missions, with dates of founding; lists of Spanish and Mexican governors (1767-1847); and a table of mission administrators. The author lays little claim to historical discovery, but "feels some measure of pride regarding the architectural finds". There are a few matters that should be altered in a future edition. On page 12, for instance, the term "Hispañola" would better have been "Española" or "Hispaniola"; and on page 15, the date of the famous "New Laws" appears as 1543 instead of 1542. Bancroft has been the chief historical authority used, but other writers have been consulted as well, as the footnotes prove.

In the second part, chapter VII treats of the "materials and construction" of the missions; and chapter VIII of the "development of mission architecture"; while the remaining chapters describe the various missions of California (21 in all). In these chapters the architectural details form the chief contribution, but the author has gathered together much of history of the missions as well. In chapter XI, in speaking of the asistencia of San Antonio de Pala, Mr. Newcomb gives the inscription of one of the bells as follows: "Stus Ds Stus Ftis Stus Immortlis micerere nobis". This he translates as "Holy Father, Holy, Most Mighty One, Pity us". A more correct translation is "O Holy God! O Holy and Strong! O Holy and Immortal! have mercy on us".¹

¹ The Latin abbreviation when properly expanded, spelt, and arranged should be "Sanctus Deus Sanctus Fortis Sanctus Immortalis nobis miserere". This is the so-called *Trisagion*, so named from the Greek *tris* and *agion* which means "thrice holy". It is a form of prayer which was used by the Greeks of Constantinople as far back as the fifth century A.D. The Roman Church adopted it about the fourteenth century, and still uses it on Good Friday to introduce the singing of what is known as the *Improperia*, a lengthy chant that is sung on that day during the unveiling of the Cross at the sacred functions in the morning known as the Mass of the Pre-Sanctified. The Roman Church has retained the

In the third section are described the Estudillo House, Old Town, San Diego (the marriage place of Helen Hunt Jackson's heroine), the houses of Spanish Santa Bárbara, the old houses of Monterey, and the Rancho Camúlos (also chosen as a setting by Helen Hunt Jackson). The second and third parts are of especial value. Throughout the text is aided materially by the many excellent illustrations and plans. These and the faithful descriptions of the various edifices would go far toward permitting reconstruction should some sudden catastrophe occur. Indeed, one is struck by the frequency with which earthquakes have wrought partial destruction to the mission buildings, many of which, as is well known, have been partially restored. The ever-present danger of earthquakes makes the book all the more timely and valuable, for it is a record, above all, of the buildings themselves made by a professional architect. This lifts the book out of the exclusively popular class, although it will have a certain popular appeal, and places it in a special place by itself.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

The Spanish House for America: Its Design, Furnishing, and Garden.

By REXFORD NEWCOMB, A.I.A. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1927. Pp. 164. Colored frontispiece and 97 plates; bibliography. \$3.50.)

This very interesting and useful study, which is well described by its title, shows how the architecture developed in southern Spain was transferred to the Spanish colonies in the New World, and how the Spanish spirit and forms have been developed, and are being developed, in various states of the Union. The volume was written to set forth the "salient features" of Spanish architecture, which the author calls a "lovable style"; and this purpose has been admirably met. By illustrations, selected from actual edifices in California, Florida, New Mexico, and other regions, accompanied by explanations in the text, the discriminating use by modern architects of old forms and materials, changed to meet modern conditions, is well demonstrated. The text is clear and not too long, and sanely insists on inspiration and adaption rather than on slavish following of old Spanish types, original Greek text, always adding immediately after the Latin translation, as given in that inscription. The Greek reads:

"Agios o Theos, Agios ischyros, Agios athanatos, eleison imas".

(Information furnished by Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M.)

and on good sense and simplicity rather than on the purely ornate. The bibliographical list is more extensive than the layman would expect. It is suggested that, should a second edition of this book be issued, an index be added, for although the text is short, many details, often of a technical nature, are mentioned, and the absence of an index is a defect.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

A Novelist's Tour of the World. By VICENTE BLASCO IBANEZ. Authorized translation by LEO ONGLEY and ARTHUR LIVINGSTON. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., [c1926]. Illus. Pp. viii, 420. \$6.00.)

In this book, the author of the *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, tells the tale of his wanderings around the world by way of New York City, the Panama Canal, the Hawaiian Islands, Japan, the Philippines, and thence back to Europe. The translation into English appears to be well done, and is readable. For the purpose of this REVIEW, the short chapter on the Philippines is of chief interest here. Although rather perfunctorily written and quite superficial, the author calls attention to several matters of interest. Quite correctly, he notes the ancient debt of the Filipinos to Spain, but neglects to mention that to the Chinese who were the first great teachers of the peoples in the Philippines of whom we can speak with certainty. He calls attention to the modern tendencies, the educational system fostered by the United States, and above all to the difference between the Philippines and other far-eastern countries, which is distinctive and one of the first things noted by the visitor. There are some rather good descriptive passages. There are also several inaccuracies. The population does *not* reach twelve millions, and if one were to enumerate all the islands, they would reach beyond the 3,000 that the author admits. Although it is true that Spanish is now used more than during the Spanish régime, the Tagalog language (that spoken about Manila) is *not* now known only to the most cultivated of the inhabitants; although English of a kind is the language of the schools, Tagalog (with some exceptions) is still the language of the home, and in the regions where the other racial stocks live, the languages native to those regions are still the home languages. Here he misses the point completely. Touching on the independence movement, the author says

that independence can come only when the Filipinos can convince the Americans of their capacity for self government, and "then, through one of those rapid, spontaneous outbursts of highminded and generous public opinion so frequent in the life of the United States".

Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo: Our Wonderland of the Southwest. By CHARLES F. LUMMIS. (New York and London: The Century Co., [c1925]. Illus. Pp. xvi, 517. \$4.50.)

Mr. Lummis has long been known as an enthusiast of the first water for America and things American, and especially for the southwestern part of the United States. In that region, indeed, he has left his impress, not only because of his picturesque career, but through the solid work he has performed. He will long be remembered, for instance, for his collection and preservation of the old Spanish songs of California, and for his interpretation of the Southwest. In the volume under discussion, he writes with his usual vigor, scorning convention, and notwithstanding some repetition and self glorification, holding his readers to the end, because of his earnestness and the data he presents. Although the work is mainly descriptive of the natural scenery of the Southwest, the pueblos and their peoples, the author has occasion many times to speak of the colonization by Spain, the Spanish conquistadors and priests, and Spanish influence in the territory of which he writes. Among the most valuable data are the reproductions of the signatures and inscriptions of the early conquistadors and travelers who journeyed through this land—among them that of Oñate. The work throughout has been done *con amore*. Much of it appeared first in various magazines, and in Lummis's early book *Some Strange Corners of Our Country*, but the author has added much that is new. The illustrations, which are numerous, are excellent.

NOTES AND COMMENT

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE PAN AMERICAN UNION ON THE TEACHING OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY IN COLLEGES, NORMAL SCHOOLS, AND UNIVERSITIES OF THE UNITED STATES

[Through the kindness of Dr. Leo S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union, we are enabled to print in full the following committee report. The results of the survey are striking and gratifying. The report itself marks a milestone in the realization in this country of the importance of the study of the history of Hispanic America.—Eds.]

March 4, 1927.

Dr. Leo S. Rowe,
Director, Pan American Union,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Dr. Rowe:

The undersigned, members of a committee which at your suggestion was nominated by the Executive Council of the American Historical Association, hereby present the following report.

Pioneer work in teaching the history of Spanish and Portuguese America in the United States was done by state educational institutions. On January 14, 1895, Professor Bernard Moses, then head of the department of history and political science at the University of California, began to give a course entitled "Spanish-American history and institutions". In 1904-1905 the University of Texas initiated its Spanish-American work by a course in Spanish colonization. In the Middle West the University of Illinois led the way in 1909 by establishing courses in Latin-American history. On the eastern seaboard in 1904-1905 Columbia University made the transition from courses dealing with European history and the history of our West to a course dealing with Spanish America. A course in the history of Latin America was given at Harvard University in 1915. An indi-

cation of the progress which was soon made in this field may be found in a symposium of views which was published in 1919 in the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

The initiative for the present inquiry into the teaching of Latin-American history was taken by Dr. Leo S. Rowe who on October 29, 1925, addressed a letter on the subject to Professor J. S. Bassett, Secretary of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association. In that letter Dr. Rowe asked that the Association should undertake

a survey of the teaching of the subject in colleges and universities, normal schools, high schools, and academies, so as to show the extent to which it is offered in each group, and the texts, reference books, and syllabi used. Perhaps suggestions might be invited as to further material that is needed or defects in existing texts that need to be corrected.

Dr. Rowe expressed his willingness to coöperate with any committee of the American Historical Association, stated that in his opinion such a survey could be best made by trained historians, and appealed to the Executive Council to undertake the proposed survey.

Dr. Rowe's communication was considered at a meeting of the Executive Council of the American Historical Association on November 28, 1925. The council voted that it would

coöperate with the Pan American Union with respect to making a survey of the teaching of Latin-American history in colleges and universities to the extent that if the Pan American Union will create the committee itself the Association will suggest qualified members to serve on the said committee.

On December 3, 1925, Dr. Rowe accepted this proposal, and at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Ann Arbor, Michigan, the Executive Council nominated for membership on this committee the following persons: P. N. Garber, Duke University; J. F. Rippey, University of Chicago; W. W. Pierson, Jr., University of North Carolina; J. A. Robertson, Stetson University; and W. S. Robertson, University of Illinois. Before leaving Ann Arbor, members of this committee met, chose W. S. Robertson as chairman, and prepared the following questionnaire:

QUESTIONNAIRE CONCERNING THE TEACHING OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY IN
COLLEGES, NORMAL SCHOOLS, AND UNIVERSITIES

1. Give the title or titles of course or courses offered in Latin-American History in your institution with indications concerning the content of each course, the number of hours of credit, and the name of the teacher conducting it.

2. Indicate the number of semesters or terms covered by each course in the regular session or the summer school.
3. State which department (as history, political science, commerce, etc.) offers the course.
4. Are the courses designed for undergraduates or graduates, or are they open to both classes of students?
5. State the method of instruction used, as lectures, text, reference readings, or a combination of the above modes.
6. Are the courses elementary or advanced? If advanced, please state the pre-requisites.
7. Name textbook or textbooks used.
8. Mention important reference works used, including magazines and newspapers.
9. If a syllabus is used, please state its title, and, if possible, send a copy.
10. Mention any other material found most useful; and indicate needs which should be met.
11. State how many students are taking each course.
12. Are any of your students preparing to teach Latin-American history?
13. If Latin-American history is not taught in your institution, please state why not?
14. Any information supplementary to the above.

In the end of January, 1926, this questionnaire, accompanied by a circular letter from Dr. Rowe, was sent out by the Pan American Union to 145 normal schools, 29 private general training schools, 86 teachers' colleges, and 633 colleges and universities in the United States listed in the 1925 Directory of the Bureau of Education, making a total of 1,172 educational institutions. As a large number of these institutions made no response, four months later the Pan American Union sent out a follow-up questionnaire. A few special inquiries were later made by the chairman of the committee. Answers to the questionnaire kept drifting in until the end of 1926. Replies came from institutions as widely separated as the University of Maine and the University of the Philippines. In the group designated as colleges and universities, where the percentage of replies ran about the average, 288 institutions responded out of a possible 633. In general less than 50 per cent of the institutions addressed made reply. The results indicate the status of the teaching of Latin-American history in the United States for the academic year, 1925-26.

Of the general private training schools only one responded to state that it did not offer a course in Latin-American history. Of the junior colleges 5 replied that courses in that field had been offered, but in 2 of these colleges such courses were given only in alternate years. Of

the normal schools and teachers' colleges 36 replied that they gave Latin-American history a place in their curricula. Replies from colleges and universities showed that 135 institutions regularly gave courses in the history of Latin America. In addition a number of institutions of higher learning had given such courses intermittently. Thus the returns showed that 175 colleges or universities had in the last few years given instruction in the history of our southern neighbors.

In addition it should be noticed that a considerable number of institutions reported that this branch of history was given some attention in connection with the teaching of European or United States history. Especially in educational institutions on the Pacific coast considerable attention was paid to Latin America in courses entitled the "History of the Americas". An encouraging fact is that several institutions expressed an intention soon to offer courses in Latin-American history. A study of the geographical distribution of the students studying Latin-American history shows striking differences in the sizes of classes at different institutions. This is probably partly due to local circumstances. An outstanding fact is that the largest enrollment in Latin-American history courses was found in one of our largest universities which is located in our Hispanic South-West, namely, the University of California.

Much diversity was shown in regard to the courses that were being given. In many institutions the only work offered in Latin-American history was a one semester course. In a considerable number of other institutions a general course ran through two semesters. In a large number of cases stress was laid upon the relations of the United States with Latin-American nations. There were a relatively small number of institutions where courses in the history of Latin America were given by any other department than that of history, the most frequent exceptions being institutions where courses in Latin-American government or history were given by either the department of political science or the department of romance languages. In a few cases some attention was paid to Latin America by the department of economics. Occasionally in small institutions the courses were given by the department of history and political science.

The courses offered in addition to a one or two semester survey of Spanish and Portuguese America—which was the course that most frequently served as introductory—were varied in kind and scope.

Very often the second choice was a course which dealt with the relations between the United States and Latin-American nations. Occasionally a course was offered in the history of Spain or in the history of Spain and Portugal. In thirty-six institutions for the training of teachers which offered courses in the history of Latin America only four reported that they gave more than an introductory course or introductory courses in this subject. Many colleges gave only introductory work for which ordinarily other history courses were pre-requisites. In general, advanced and graduate instruction in Latin-American history is confined to certain colleges and institutions where this branch of study is firmly established. Less than a score of institutions of collegiate rank offered more than three one-semester courses. The greatest variety of advanced courses was offered by endowed institutions located in cities on the eastern seaboard, by leading universities of the Old Northwest, and by state universities in our Hispanic Southwest.

From this survey it appears that in 1925-1926 certain leading educational institutions in the United States, notably Minnesota, Princeton, Wisconsin, and Yale, were not offering courses in the history of Latin America. Of these Yale at one time offered such courses but had ceased giving them. Perhaps the best explanation of the attitude of some institutions that do not give courses is that which was given by the head of the history department in a state university of the North, namely, that the addition of a qualified man to that department to give instruction in Latin-American history would involve expenditures for the library and for instruction that would simply water its present effort to do good work. On the other hand, in addition to expressing regret that his department had no one qualified to teach Latin-American history the head of the history department of a municipal university in the Ohio Valley said that in the plans of the department for expansion this subject has a prominent place. A different view was expressed by the history teacher in a small college in New England who made this reply:

No courses in Latin-American history are given here in any department. They would be altogether too much of a luxury for a small college which attempts only to give men a good general education in the general sense.

A small college on the Pacific coast replied thus:

We regret that at the present time we are not equipped to offer any courses in this field. This is due to the character of our required general courses in history

during the freshman and sophomore years, and to the need of devoting most of the advanced work to United States History and Modern European History, Historiography, and the like.

The methods of teaching Latin-American history differed according to the character of the work. In the introductory courses the method generally involved the use of a text, lectures by the instructor, and collateral readings. Surprising though it may seem, in some courses no use whatever was made of either a text or a syllabus. About twenty colleges or universities giving courses in Latin-American history reported that they used no text whatever. A prominent state university reported: "Our library resources are rich, and text-books play a small part". The texts most used in introductory courses in Latin-American history in colleges and universities were as follows: James and Martin, *The Republics of Latin America*; Robertson, *The History of the Latin-American Nations*; Shepherd, *The Hispanic Nations of the New World*, and Sweet, *History of Latin America*. In teacher training schools Webster's *Latin America* was used considerably in addition to the texts mentioned in the above list. In many cases more than one text was used.

About twenty-five institutions reported that the students were required to use a printed syllabus. The syllabi mentioned were as follows: Bolton, *History of the Americas*; Hoskins, *Guide to Latin-American History*; Meacham, *A Syllabus of Hispanic-American History: Colonial Period*; and (giving the title of the last edition) Pierson, *Hispanic-American History: A Syllabus*. In about a dozen cases the statement was made that the instructor prepared a syllabus for the use of his class.

With respect to the reference books used for collateral reading there was much diversity. In the group of colleges and universities, where presumably the library equipment was on the average the best, more than one-half of one hundred and thirty-five institutions that gave regular courses in Latin-American history did not seem to have proper library equipment. Of these twenty-five did not mention any reference books as being used at all, while forty-six gave lists of books that were obviously inadequate. Of the half that gave lists of available books which were in a degree adequate, a number reported that they had in the library at least all the books mentioned in a brief list of references compiled by a group of historians and distributed by the

Pan American Union in conjunction with the questionnaire. In small institutions where funds for the purchase of books were necessarily limited, the teaching of Latin-American history was at times carried on with a modicum of library equipment, while in some large universities the number of available reference books was extremely large. In general, only in certain institutions where the subject was well established did the library equipment seem altogether adequate for both elementary and advanced work. Occasionally there were laments that few students had a good reading knowledge of Spanish, while pleas were made for good historical books in English.

Though class discussions were infrequently mentioned, yet it may be presumed that these took place regularly in many cases, at least in the introductory courses. Though all of the reports did not so indicate, yet it is to be supposed that the courses for graduates ordinarily involved individual investigation of an advanced type based upon a study of the sources.

As indicative of the lines along which progress is being made we shall next notice the character of the advanced courses in Latin-American history which were given in 1925-1926 at universities where more than three one-semester courses were offered. The University of Arizona offered an advanced course in Latin-American relations and another in the history of our Southwest. Among advanced courses at the University of California were the following: the history of the A. B. C. Powers, and Spain in North America. Among its graduate courses were offerings in the history of Spain and Portugal, and Latin America since 1810. At Columbia University advanced courses were given by the history department in Latin-American civilization, and a course in Pan American relations was offered by the department of public law. At the University of Chicago advanced courses were given in such fields as the following: Latin America in World Politics; The United States and England in Latin America; problems in Latin-American relations. At the University of Illinois advanced courses were given in Latin-American relations with the United States and in European relations with Latin America. At Harvard University special courses were offered on the history of Mexico, and on the A. B. C. countries. The University of Kansas offered a seminar in Latin-American history. At the University of Michigan a detailed course was given on the history of Spain and Portugal and on the

colonization of North America. Ordinarily Northwestern University offered a seminar in Latin-American history. At Ohio State University an advanced course was given on the International Relations of Latin America. The University of Pennsylvania offered a course on Latin America and the United States. The University of Pittsburgh offered a course on the A. B. C. Powers. Besides a course on the history of South America and another on Spanish North America, the University of Texas offered a course on the Spanish Southwest. In addition to a seminar in Latin-American history, Leland Stanford University gave work in the history of Brazil. A number of institutions, including the University of Southern California, gave a course in the history of Mexico.

It is to be regretted that a larger number of the colleges and universities that sent responses did not make practical suggestions in regard to improvements which might be made in the apparatus of teaching. About a dozen replies mentioned the need of a better textbook. Two of these urged that text-writers should show a better understanding of Catholic institutions and viewpoints. Two or three teachers suggested that the writers of texts should give more attention to social and economic history. Less than a dozen urged the need of a volume of readings in Latin-American history. More than a dozen mentioned the need of a good atlas or of good wall maps. In three responses the argument was made that there was a crying need of scientific monographs dealing with specific phases or problems of Latin-American history. Two instructors expressed a wish that national histories of Latin-American countries should be translated into English. One instructor said that there was great need of "a good magazine in English which will give an accurate survey of political events throughout Latin America". Another instructor expressed a desire for "more popular biographies of Latin-American leaders". Another emphasized the need for general histories of the different nations. At a time when the resumption of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* was still uncertain, a goodly number of teachers expressed an ardent desire to see it revived.

This survey leads the committee to the following conclusions regarding the present status of instruction in Latin-American history in the United States. The returns received indicate that in junior colleges such instruction has only begun in a few institutions. In

teacher training institutions such instruction has made considerable headway but is still neglected in the majority of cases. In a large number of colleges and universities Latin-American history has not yet been given a place commensurate with its importance. In some leading educational institutions it has not been accorded a place at all.

The most encouraging feature of the situation is the progress made in the instruction in Latin-American history in our colleges and universities since 1895. The great variety of courses now offered in that field by certain universities may indicate either that the courses are adapted somewhat to local circumstances or that the subject has not yet found its proper place in the curriculum. Possibly both conditions prevail in varying degrees in different institutions. The steady development of an interest in Latin-American history in the United States indeed encourages the hope that leading educational institutions cannot much longer neglect to readjust their library and teaching facilities so as to give some attention to the history of our southern neighbors.

Lastly the committee would suggest to teachers of Latin-American history the wisdom of emphasizing certain phases of development more than others. In so vast and so varied a field it feels that stress might well be laid upon political history with considerable attention to international relations and to the structure of society. It hopes that a competent scholar will prepare and that an enterprising firm will publish a comprehensive atlas of Latin America. The committee would call the attention of teachers to the need of encouraging praiseworthy attempts to improve the equipment available for instruction, whether those attempts take the form of wall maps, textbooks, or source books. It urges every teacher to see that his pupils have access to the files of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. It commends the recent proposal to translate into English and to publish national histories of Latin-American countries in a "Bolivarian Historical Series"; for such a series would be of inestimable value in making available to our students the views of Latin Americans concerning their history, government, and philosophy. Further, it believes that our university teachers can effectively promote the cause of Latin-American history not only by contributing to the literature of that subject themselves but by encouraging competent graduate students to investigate salient topics in the bibliography and history

of Spanish and Portuguese America. For in spite of the commendable efforts of native historians, there is a dire need of readable monographs on important topics in the national history of the Latin-American states.

Respectfully submitted,

[Signed] W. S. ROBERTSON, *Chairman*,
J. FRED RIPPY,
PAUL N. GARBER,
W. W. PIERSON, JR.,
JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

A SURVEY OF INVESTIGATIONS, IN PROGRESS OR CONTEMPLATED, IN THE FIELD OF HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY

More than a brief note by way of introduction would be superfluous. This survey was conceived in order that workers, in as well as out, of the field of Hispanic American history might become acquainted with investigations being carried on in the subject. Incidentally it was hoped that duplication of effort might be reduced to the minimum and that the maximum of coöperation might be gained.¹

The subjects listed need no explanation. Many classifications of the material were considered with the result that all matter has been arranged alphabetically by authors under the following headings: I. Colonial and Revolutionary Periods;² II. Modern Period; III. International Relations and Diplomacy; IV. General and Miscellaneous. Sub-headings have been selected uniformly in the first three groups. The items in group IV lend themselves to a somewhat different arrangement. All titles bearing on international relations, including trade and wars, have been listed in group III whether they

¹ Survey questionnaires were sent to all colleges and universities with an enrollment of 600 or more students, and to some with even a smaller number. One product of this survey has been the encouraging knowledge that several institutions not now offering courses in Hispanic American history are planning to do so in the future. Among these are: Woman's College of Alabama, Boston University, Michigan State College of Agriculture and Applied Science, University of Oklahoma, University of Cincinnati.

² Under this heading is listed also the only item received which might be classed as Pre-Columbian.

fall in the colonial or modern periods. Items which might fall in either group I or II have been listed in one or the other according as the colonial or modern side has been emphasized. Titles of works have been recorded wherever possible in the words of the person sending them. No title has been listed more than once. There are no cross-references. Titles of thesis subjects and works contemplated have been so indicated. All others are under investigation or in process of being written.

It is to be hoped that this survey may be made self-perpetuating and that each year, preferably not later than May 1, all persons working in the field will voluntarily submit to the editor of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* information as to the work of themselves and their students, both contemplated and in progress. The value of such a plan should be obvious to all.

The compiler is under obligation to so many individuals that to name them is impossible. But without the coöperation of his numerous friends in many institutions the value of this survey would have been materially lessened. Many valuable suggestions have been received from Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Dr. Leo S. Rowe, and Dr. James A. Robertson. With the latter the writer has been in frequent communication. To the editors of many periodicals, and particularly to Miss Isabel K. Macdermott, of the Pan American Union, is deep gratitude felt for the wide advertisement of the survey. To the history department of the University of South Carolina must be expressed appreciation for furnishing all stationery used, and to Miss Alice Lee Burkette, secretary to the president of the university, is due the credit for all mimeographing. None of these friends, however, must be held accountable for any mistakes.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

University of South Carolina.

1. COLONIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY PERIODS

A. GENERAL

Brown, Vera Lee: England and Spain as colonial powers in the 18th century. (Book.) Smith College.

Collins, Sister Mary Austin: Colonial reforms of Charles III. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.

- Diffie, Baily: Contributions of the Spanish to the development of the Atlantic coast line. (To show that by the end of the first quarter of the 17th century the Spanish had completed this work.) Texas Christian University. [Contemplated.]
- Haring, C. H.: Development of the royal administration in the Spanish Indies with especial reference to the Audiencia. Harvard.
- Organization of the Spanish colonial trade in the 18th century. Harvard. [Contemplated.]
- Hussey, Roland W.: Spanish royal overseas trading companies in the 18th century. (Ph.D. thesis at Harvard.) University of California, Southern Branch.
- Morgan, W. T.: The connection between the South Sea Company, the Asiento, and the negotiations associated with the Treaty of Utrecht. Indiana University.
- The South Sea Company and the Canadian Expedition in the Reign of Queen Anne. Indiana University.
- Pierson, William Whatley, Jr.: Three studies on the institutional history of the colonial Intendencia, with documents. University of North Carolina. [Contemplated.]
- Ragatz, Lowell J.: Tropical labor régimes in the new world in the 18th and 19th centuries. George Washington University. [Contemplated.]
- Robertson, James A.: A study of the transfer of plants and animals by the Spaniards. An extension of preliminary notes appearing in the James Sprunt Historical Studies. John B. Stetson University.
- Steck, Rev. Francis Borgia, O.F.M.: Studies of the Franciscan Missions in Hispanic American history. (Probable continuation of past studies.) Franciscan Monastery, Mt. St. Sepulchre. [Contemplated.]
- Sweet, W. W.: Indian missions of the Catholic Orders. De Pauw University. [Contemplated.]
- Vandegrift, R. A.: Spanish colonial defense, 1492-1808. (Ph.D. thesis at the University of California.)

B. NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES

- Bolton, Herbert Eugene: Crespi's Pacific coast explorations, 1769-1774. University of California.
- Spanish expansion in North America, 1492-1821. (2 volumes.) University of California.
- Boone, Lalla R.: History of the Spanish period of the Santa Clara valley, California. Texas Technological College. [Contemplated.]
- Caldwell, Robert G.: Spanish colonial administration in Cuba, 1820-1898. (With special reference to the position of the Captain-General.) Rice Institute.
- Carlson, F. A.: Influence of Spanish history on the development of Costa Rica. Ohio State University. [Contemplated.]
- Clark, R. C.: Beginnings of Texas, 1684-1718. (Partly published 1907 ff.) University of Oregon.
- Cobb, David G.: Spanish defense in the West Indies in the 17th century. (Graduate thesis.) University of Michigan.

- Connor, Jeannette Thurber: *The Missions of Florida*. (Book.) Florida State Historical Society.
- Crawford, Polly P.: *History of the lower Rio Grande region, 1757-1836*. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of Texas.
- Edsall, Miss B. E.: *Social and economic study of the Spanish settlement of the Southwest*. University of Wisconsin.
- Feudge, Sister Mary Margaret: *The Vice-regal administration of Luis de Velasco, II. 1590-1595*. (Graduate thesis.) University of California.
- Hammond, George Peter: *A study of the great silver find at Arizonac, 1736-1741*. University of Arizona. [Contemplated.]
- Helwig, Adelaide B.: *The development of South Carolina, 1660-1720*. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- King, Amelda R.: *Spanish Louisiana During the American Revolution*. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of Illinois.
- Klingenhagen, Anna M.: *Filibustering in the Mexican war of Independence, 1810-1820*. (Ph.D. thesis.) Oberlin College.
- Kuykendall, R. S.: *Spanish activity on the Pacific coast north of San Francisco*. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Nasatir, Abraham: *The Spanish régime in the upper trans-Mississippi west, 1763-1803*. (With particular reference to the Indian trade and international relations.) University of Iowa.
- Priestley, Herbert Ingram: *A study of the land grants around Mexico City in the 16th century*. University of California. [Contemplated.]
- Roberts, Carol J.: *The founding of San Antonio, Texas*. (Graduate thesis.) University of Michigan.
- Ross, Mary: *Georgia in the later 16th century*. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Scholes, France V.: *The Inquisition in New Mexico, especially during the 17th century*. (Ph.D. thesis at Harvard.) Colorado College.
- Taliaferro, E. A.: *The development of Texas, 1715-1731*. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Thomas, A. B.: *Spanish activities within the Colorado region in the 17th and 18th centuries*. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Whitaker, Arthur P.: *Spain's commercial policy in West Florida*. (Documents.) Florida State Historical Society.

C. SOUTH AMERICA

- Custer, F. V.: *Revolutionary movements in colonial Brazil*. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Gates, Mrs. Eunice J.: *A defense of José de Areche, Visitor-General in Peru*. (Graduate thesis.) University of Michigan.
- Murphy, T. J.: *The economic and social system of the Incas*. (Graduate thesis.) University of Pennsylvania.
- Pierson, William Whatley, Jr.: *The O'Higgins-Carrera dispute reconsidered*. University of North Carolina. [Contemplated.]

- Ward, Sister Mary Redempta: The visitation of Peru by José de Areche. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Zimmerman, A. F.: The conflicting jurisdictions between ecclesiastical power and civil power in the viceroyalty of Peru. (Graduate thesis.) University of Illinois.

II. MODERN PERIOD

A. GENERAL

- Chapman, Charles E.: The Republican era in Hispanic America. (A text.) University of California. [Contemplated.]
- Davis, Charles F.: A study of Latin American journals as to their points of view upon national and international questions. Colorado Agricultural College.
- Howard University: Studies in Hispanic American music. Howard University. [Contemplated.]
- Jones, C. K.: The Literature of Spanish America as related to the study of history. Library of Congress.
- McBride, George McCutchen: The land tenure systems of Latin America. (To be a book or series of monographs.) University of California, Southern Branch.
- Shaw, P. V.: Early constitutions of Hispanic America. (Ph.D. thesis.) Columbia University.

B. NORTH AMERICA AND THE WEST INDIES

- Arnedt, Marion: Mexican national expression in art. (M.A. thesis.) University of California.
- Barrows, David P.: The governments of Mexican states. University of California.
- Calcott, W. H.: Democracy in Mexico, 1857-1927. (Continuation of volume on Church and State in Mexico.) University of South Carolina.
- Chambers, Raymond: A history of transportation in Mexico. (Book.) University of Buffalo.
- Fitzpatrick, Melba: The downfall of Maximilian's empire. (M.A. thesis.) University of California.
- Hearst, Louise: Geography of coffee in Central America. (Graduate thesis.) University of Chicago.
- James, Elden V.: The Mexican revolution. (Economic and social influences underlying the present upheaval in Mexico.) Kansas State College. [Contemplated.]
- Partridge, Allan B.: Historical background of alien land and petroleum laws in Mexico. University of New Hampshire.
- Platt, Robert S.: A classification of manufactures exemplified by Porto Rican industries. (Grouped according to factors tending to localize the activities.) University of Chicago.
- Arrangement and functions of the Mexican railway net and the distribution of its traffic. University of Chicago.
- Geographic contrasts in selected communities of the Mexican plateau, the Sierra Madre, and the Sierra Caliente. University of Chicago. [Contemplated.]

- The Cuban railway net and its traffic. University of Chicago. [Contemplated.]
- Potter, K.: The trend of constitutional development in Mexico. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Redfield, Robert: An ethnological and sociological study of a typical Mexican village community as a contribution to the background of the Mexican immigrant in the United States. University of Colorado.
- Rowland, D.: History of the Cuban presidential elections, with special emphasis upon the election of 1920. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Schurz, William Lytle: An Economic survey of Cuba. Economic Advisor of Cuban government.
- Sherwell, G. Butler: Field surveys on Mexican economic conditions. (For Research Committee on Latin America in the Council for Research in the Social Sciences.) Columbia University.
- Silvers, Jane E. Swanson: The struggle for national reforms in Mexico, 1854-1876. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Soto, Rafael A.: The Criollista tendency in Porto Rican literature. Lehigh University.
- Some aspects of Porto Rican culture considered from the historical point of view. Lehigh University. [Contemplated.]
- West, Elizabeth Howard: The Right of Asylum in New Mexico in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Librarian, Technological College, Lubbock, Texas.
- Yoder, Dale: The history and development of the Mexican revolution. State University of Iowa.
- Development of the Nicaraguan revolution. State University of Iowa. [Contemplated.]

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- Bernard, Luther Lee: A study of the development of the social sciences in Argentina. University of Minnesota.
- Bilden, Rudiger: Slavery as a method of production in Brazil. (Graduate thesis.) Columbia University.
- Cohen, B.: Influences of the American Constitution on the constitutional system of Chile. (A survey of direct and indirect influence of American political ideas upon the formation of the constitution.) (Graduate thesis.) Chilean Embassy.
- Cox, Isaac Joslin: A study of the development of the government in Chile. Northwestern University.
- Haring, C. H.: The politico-economic background of present day Argentina. Harvard.
- Martin, P. A.: The governmental system of the republic of Uruguay. Stanford University.
- Nichols, Roy F.: Economic Interpretation of South American politics. University of Pennsylvania. [Contemplated.]
- Oliveira Lima, Manoel de: O Imperio do Brazil, 1822-1889. (An historical study of monarchical régime in Brazil.) Catholic University of America.
- Stanger, Francis Merriman: Church and State in Peru. University of California.

III. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMACY

A. GENERAL

- Aguerrevere, Angel D.: Cultural relations of Spanish America and the mother country at the present time. James Millikan University. [Contemplated.]
- Aiton, Arthur S.: The Family Compact. (A book on international relations in the 18th century based on new materials in the William L. Clements library and collections in Paris and England.) University of Michigan. [Contemplated.]
- Bemis, Samuel F.: The American secretaries of state and their diplomacy. (10 vols. 1927 ff.) George Washington University.
- Boone, Lalla R.: British intrusions into the Spanish world in the 15th and 16th centuries. Texas Technological College.
- Callahan, J. M.: History of the Latin American policy of the United States. In process of investigation and writing intermittently since 1898.) West Virginia University.
- Chandler, Charles Lyon: Economic background of our early relations with Hispanic American countries. (A preliminary study to 1824.) Corn Exchange National Bank, Philadelphia.
- Cleven, N. Andrew N., The Hispanic American policy of Henry Clay. University of Pittsburgh. [Contemplated.]
- Collings, Harry T.: Trading with Latin America. (Book dealing with the business relations of the United States with Latin America.) Wharton School of Commerce, University of Pennsylvania.
- Cox, Isaac Joslin: General diplomatic relations of the United States and Hispanic America. Northwestern University.
- Garrard, Annie: J. Quincy Adams and the independence movement in Hispanic America. (M. A. thesis.) Duke University.
- Graves, W. Brooke: Foreign policy of James G. Blaine. Temple University.
- Hardy, Osgood: Was Patrick Egan a "blundering minister"? Occidental College.
- Hasbrouck, Alfred: The Foreign Legion and the liberation of Spanish America. (Ph.D. thesis.) Columbia University.
- Hooper, Jane W.: The French and Spanish commercial coöperation against the English under Choiseul. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Hoover, Elizabeth: Germany and Hispanic America. (Graduate thesis.) University of Chicago.
- Hoskins, Halford L.: The Hispanic American Policy of Henry Clay, 1816-1828. Tufts College.
- Lockey, J. B.: Inter-American relations, or the decline of Pan Americanism between 1830-1870. University of California, Southern Branch.
- Manning, William R.: Diplomatic correspondence of the United States concerning the independence of the Latin American nations. 4 vols., 1831-1860.) Washington, D. C.
- Martin, Charles E.: The American doctrine of non-intervention. (From its beginning to the present. A comprehensive study of the intervention policy of the United States in all of its aspects, especially as regards Latin America.) University of Washington. [Contemplated.]

- Newton, Irene E.: The treaty of Paris of 1898. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Reynolds, T. H.: The economic aspects of the Monroe Doctrine. (In general and as applied to Mexico, Panama and Cuba.) Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.
- Rippy, J. Fred: Latin America in world politics. Duke University.
- The rivalry of the United States and Britain in Hispanic America, 1823-1857. Duke University. [Contemplated.]
- The Governmental System of Colombia. Duke University.
- Roberts, Charles H.: The relations of the United States with Hispanic America, politically, commercially and socially. Texas Christian University. [Contemplated.]
- Sensabaugh, L. F.: Disputes between Latin American states which have been referred to the arbitration of European powers. (Graduate thesis.) Johns Hopkins University.
- Wilgus, A. Curtis: Activities of United States citizens in the Latin American wars for independence. University of South Carolina.
- The Second Pan American Conference at Mexico City, 1901-1902. University of South Carolina.

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- Abbey, Kathryn T.: Florida as an issue in the American revolution. (Ph.D. thesis.) Florida State College for Women.
- Barrows, David P.: Study of the results of the responsibilities assumed by the United States government upon the affairs of certain of the Central American states. University of California. [Contemplated.]
- Baxter, Georgia L.: The financial side of United States investments in Mexico. (For Research Committee on Latin America in the Council for Research in the Social Sciences.) Columbia University.
- Boone, Lalla R.: Taft's Mexican policy and its critics. Texas Technological College. [Contemplated.]
- Cleven, N. Andrew N.: The Mexican policy of James Buchanan. University of Pittsburgh.
- Columbia University, Research Committee on Latin America: A comprehensive survey of Mexico's foreign debts and the foreign investments in Mexico, tracing not only the financial details but the political and legal consequences of foreign holdings. (To be published in a series of monographs.) Columbia University.
- Cox, Isaac Joslin: Frontier relations with Spain. Northwestern University.
- The United States and Nicaragua. Northwestern University.
- Crane, Verner W.: The southern frontier and the founding of Georgia. (Emphasis on the English aspect, Indian trade and western policy, and Florida.) Brown University.
- Edwards, William H.: The relations of the United States with Haiti, 1915 to date. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of North Dakota.

- Hasbrouck, Alfred: Gregor McGregor and the colonization of Poyais between 1820 and 1824. Columbia University.
- Kinnaird, L.: Anglo-American penetration into Louisiana before 1803. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Lescohier, D. D.: A field study of Mexican immigration into the United States. University of Wisconsin. [Contemplated.]
- MacCullough, A. V.: The relations of the United States with Mexico, 1910-1926. (M. A. thesis.) Clark University.
- Meyer, Leo J.: The relations between the United States and Cuba (With special emphasis on the period since 1898. Largely diplomatic in scope.) (Ph.D. thesis.) Clark University.
- Economic penetration of Cuba by American enterprise and its effects upon the relations between it and the United States. Clark University. [Contemplated.]
- Morrow, R. L.: American relations with Nicaragua between 1898 and 1915. Wesleyan University.
- United States relations with Nicaragua to date. Wesleyan University. [Contemplated.]
- Myers, Rhae C.: Diplomatic history of Cuba to 1830. (M.A. thesis.) University of California.
- Nasatir, Abraham: California and the French to 1848. University of Iowa. [Contemplated.]
- Platt, Robert S.: Anomalous Panama. (The republic, the League of Nations and the new treaty from the geographic standpoint.) University of Chicago.
- Nicaragua; revolution and intervention. (From the geographical standpoint.) University of Chicago.
- Powell, Anna: Relations between the United States and Nicaragua since 1898. (Ph.D. thesis at the University of Texas.) North Texas State Teacher's College.
- Reynolds, A. B.: The Alabama basin in international relations, 1699-1763. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Schmidt, L. B.: American expansion in the Caribbean. Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts.
- Smith, Cecil B.: Relations between the United States government and that of Porfirio Diaz. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of Texas.
- Smith, Mathew D.: Foreign relations of Mexico under Calles. (M.A. thesis.) University of California.
- Turlington, Edgar: A Study of diplomatic and legal aspects of foreign investments in Mexico. (For Research Committee on Latin America in the Council for Research in the Social Sciences.) Columbia University.
- Wesley, Edgar B.: The national defense policy after 1783 with particular attention to the frontier defenses. (Ph.D. thesis at Washington University.) University City High School, St. Louis.
- Whitaker, Arthur P.: The Spanish-American frontier, 1783-1795: the westward movement and the Spanish retreat in the Mississippi Valley. Florida State College for Women.

Wilgus, A. Curtis: The rise and decline of the Manifest Destiny sentiment in the United States as applied to Hispanic America, 1848-1872. University of South Carolina.

Wylls, R. K.: American filibustering in Central America and Mexico, 1805-1890. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.

C. SOUTH AMERICA

Boone, Lalla R.: The relations of Great Britain with Argentina since 1805. Texas Technological College.

Box, P. E.: The Paraguayan war: its origin and influence. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of Illinois.

Cady, J. F.: European intervention in La Plata, 1838-1849; a study of an early interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine. (Involves an analysis of the essential nature of the problem of the commerce of the two rivers during the period.) (Graduate thesis.) University of Pennsylvania.

Cleven, N. Andrew N.: The diplomatic mission of General James Watson Webb to Brazil, 1861-1869. University of Pittsburg.

Dennis, William Jefferson: Documentary history of the Tacna-Arica question. (To be printed by the University of Iowa.) State University of Iowa.

Diaz, Juan G.: The diplomatic history of Brazil, 1808-1831. (Graduate thesis.) School of Foreign Service, Georgetown University.

Dickens, Paul: Diplomatic relations between the United States and Argentina. (M.A. thesis.) George Washington University. [Contemplated.]

Fossum, Paul R.: The Anglo-Venezuelan Boundary Controversy. Carleton College.

Hammond, W. J.: British relations to South America during the revolutionary period, 1800-1850. Texas Christian University. [Contemplated.]

Hill, Lawrence F.: The struggle for an American policy in Brazil, 1822-1918. (Based on ministerial dispatches and consular letters. Concerned chiefly with diplomatic relations.) Ohio State University.

—— The United States and the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade. Ohio State University.

Jones, Clarence F.: The commerce of the South American Republics. Clark University.

MacGregor, Robert R.: The diplomatic and commercial relations of the United States with Colombia. (A discussion of the diplomacy dealing with the canal and its effects upon the commercial relations of the two countries.) (Ph.D. thesis.) Clark University.

Oliveira Lima, Manoel de: D. Pedro and D. Miguel. (Vol. II; Portuguese and Brazilian diplomatic history, 1826-1833.) Catholic University of America.

Rippy, J. Fred: The Venezuela Imbrolio, 1902-1903. Duke University.

Robertson, W. S.: The Latin-American Revolution, 1808-1824. Relations between France and Latin America. University of Illinois.

Rowland, Mrs. D.: Diplomatic relations of the United States and Argentina. (M.A. thesis.) University of California.

Stewart, Watt: Early United States-Argentina diplomatic relations. (Ph.D. thesis at University of Chicago.) George Washington University.

IV. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

A. HISTORIES, GEOGRAPHIES, SOURCE BOOKS

- Alling, Harold L.: A geography of Latin America. University of Rochester. [Contemplated.]
- Bollings, C. J.: Regional geography of South America. (A study in systematic regional classification.) University of Oklahoma. [Contemplated.]
- Bradley, Glenn D.: A History of Latin America, designed as a college textbook. University of the City of Toledo.
- Burns, Ray: Human geography of the Bolivian Andes. University of Oklahoma. [Contemplated.]
- Chambers, Raymond: A study of Latin American Economic History. (With particular reference to finance and investments in Mexico, Colombia, Brazil, and Argentina.) University of Buffalo. [Contemplated.]
- Chapman, Charles E.: History of the Argentine republic. University of California. [Contemplated.]
- Cleven, N. Andrew N.: Collateral reading in Hispanic American History. University of Pittsburgh.
- Hackett, Charles W. (chairman executive committee), *et al.*: Bolivarian Historical Series.
- Martin, Percy Alvin: A history of Hispanic America. Stanford University.
- A history of Brazil. Stanford University. [Contemplated.]
- Mecham, J. Lloyd: Colonial Hispanic America. The Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America to the winning of independence. (Written in collaboration with Arthur S. Aiton, University of Michigan.) University of Texas.
- Latin-American governments. (Spanish and Portuguese colonial administration, and constitutional systems of the Latin-American republics.) University of Texas. [Contemplated.]
- Pijoan, Joseph: A book of sources for the history of Latin America. Pomona College.
- *Collectanea Americana*. (A bilingual collection of texts: Descubridores, Conquistadores y Libertadores.) Pomona College. [Contemplated.]
- Priestley, Herbert Ingram: The neighbors of the English. (A study of Spanish, French, and Dutch colonization in the 16th to 18th centuries in America. A volume in the Schlesinger-Fox, History of Civilization in the United States.) University of California.
- Rippy, J. Fred: A history of Hispanic America. (Announced by Knopf.) Duke University.
- Roberts, Charles H.: The Hispanic section of the United States. (A history of that part of the United States formerly claimed by Spain. Emphasizes Anglo-American conflict with Hispanic powers, and Hispanic influences in the United States.) Texas Christian University.

- Shepherd, William R.: Studies in the history of Hispanic American civilization. Columbia University.
- Smith, W. D.: Studies in Pacific coast South American geography. University of Oregon. [Contemplated.]
- Sweet, W. W.: History of Latin America. (Revised.) De Pauw University.
- Wilgus, A. Curtis: A source book of Hispanic American history. University of South Carolina.
- Williams, Mary W.: History of the Latin American people. Goucher College.

B. GUIDES, SYLLABI, BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- Beard, Elizabeth: The cartography of Hispanic America. (A bibliographical study.) (Graduate degree.) University of Michigan.
- Diffie, Baily: A syllabus and bibliography for the history of Latin America. (Including better known works in English and designed for reference work in undergraduate classes.) Texas Christian University.
- James, Elden V.: Outline of the history of Latin America and its institutions. (From 1492 to the present.) Kansas State College.
- Jones, C. K.: Compilation of a list of Mexicana in the Library of Congress. Library of Congress. [Contemplated.]
- Leavitt, Sturgis E.: Uruguayan literature. (A bibliography of literary criticism, biography, and literary controversy.) University of North Carolina.
- Robertson, James A.: The bibliography of Florida to 1821. (For the Florida State Historical Society.) John B. Stetson University.
- An annotated checklist of books and pamphlets of Florida, 1821 to the present time. (For the Florida State Historical Society.) Stetson University.
- Compilation of bibliographies on Mexican and Argentine articles in a selected list of reviews, etc. John B. Stetson University. [Contemplated.]
- Smith, Paul T.: Syllabus for a course entitled "Institutions, Resources and Trade of Latin America". Purdue University. [Contemplated.]
- Spell, J. R.: Fernández de Lizardi: A bibliography. University of Texas.
- Steele, Elizabeth B.: Hispanic American bibliography of the colonial period. University of Michigan.
- Wilgus, A. Curtis: A Guide and Atlas to Hispanic American history. University of South Carolina.

C. BIOGRAPHIES

- Becker, Gilbert: The career of Rosas. (M. A. thesis.) University of California.
- Burner, W. J.: The life of Benito Juárez. (One volume.) University of Missouri.
- Caughey, J. W.: Bernardo de Galvez, governor of Louisiana. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.
- Emory, H. C.: Alejandro O'Reilly, governor of Louisiana. University of Michigan.
- Hernández, J. M.: Ruíz de Alarcón; his life, theatre and ethics. (Ph.D. thesis.) Harvard.

Kamm, S. R.: Father Salvatierra in Lower California. (Graduate degree.) University of Michigan.

Smith, Joe P.: The diplomatic career of Joel R. Poinsett. (Ph.D. thesis.) Duke University.

Soto, Rafael A.: Porto Rico and her historians. Lehigh University.

Spell, J. R.: Fernández de Lizardi: his life and works. University of Texas.

Taylor, C. B.: Thomas Estrada Palma, Cuba's first president. (Ph.D. thesis.) University of California.

D. TRANSLATIONS, REPRINTS, COLLECTIONS, COMPILATIONS, CALENDERS, INDEXES

Aiton, Arthur S.: A Calender of the Asiento papers in the Shelburne manuscripts of the William L. Clements Library. University of Michigan.

——— A Calender of Manila Ransom and Falkland Island papers in the Shelburne manuscripts of the William L. Clements Library. University of Michigan.

Brown, Vera Lee: The correspondence of Bernardo de Gálvez with American revolutionary leaders, 1777-1779. Smith College.

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——— Colonial records of Spanish Florida. Vol. II; selected papers of governors and secular persons.) The Florida State Historical Society.

Florida State Historical Society: Collection (photostats and transcripts) of documents relating to the history of Florida, made in archives and libraries of various countries.

Hackett, Charles W.: Historical documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and the approaches thereto to 1773. (Vol. III.) (For Carnegie Institution of Washington.) University of Texas.

Hammond, G. P. and A. Rey: Baltasar Obregón; "Historical relacion of the New Spain and New Mexico". (Edited and translated.) University of Arizona and University of Indiana.

——— Hernán Gallegos: "Relation of the expedition of Rodríguez into New Mexico". (Translated and edited.)

——— Estado de las provincias de la Nueva España. (Edition in English of documents from Archivo General de Indias translated and edited.)

——— Fr. Isidro Felix de Espiñosa, "Crónica apostólica y seráfica de todos los colegios de propagande fide", 1746. (To be translated and edited.) [Contemplated.]

——— Juan Domingo de Arrievita, "Crónica seráfica y apostólica del colegio propagando fide de la Santa Cruz de Queretero", 1792. (To be translated and edited.) [Contemplated.]

Nicholas, R. A.: A series of documents for the "Translations and Reprints" series of the University of Pennsylvania. (Translated and edited.) University of Pennsylvania.

Pierson, William Whatley, Jr.: Montiano letters and the Oglethorpe invasion documents. (For the Florida State Historical Society.) University of North Carolina.

- Priestley, Herbert Ingram: The Luna papers, 1558-1561. (Refer to attempt of Tristán de Luna y Arellano to settle Florida.) (For the Florida State Historical Society.) University of California.
- Ragatz, Lowell J.: Parliamentary papers relating to the British West Indies and to the West Indian slave trade and slavery, 1763-1834. George Washington University.
- Siebert, Wilber H.: Petitions of the Loyalists of Florida for indemnification because of losses suffered by leaving East Florida, 1784. (For the Florida State Historical Society.) Ohio State University.
- Simkins, Francis B.: *Vida Social no Nordeste [do Brazil]* by Gilberto Freyre and others. (A series of articles translated.) Emory University.
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E. UNCLASSIFIED

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THE INTERNATIONAL DIPLOMACY OF THE MEDALLIC ART

Three fine medals! Each of them is associated in some way with Latin America. I usually have one or two on my desk. I pick up one of them, hold it in my hand, turn it in the light and get the ever changing expressiveness of its clear and strong but subtle art. Or at night, seeking the more startling effects that come with the electric light, I work it around and tilting it, turning it in or out of the shadows, get ever new and ever astonishing emphases of its design.

One of these medals is by Eduardo Concha and was presented in 1922 by the Government of Mexico to the Republic of Brazil in commemoration of the centennial of its independence. The Mexican artist has felicitously adopted the Aztec art as the symbolic style of his country, just as we North Americans frequently adopt the art of the Red Indian. On one side is the profile of a Mayan god or warrior wearing an elaborate headdress of feathers. To the mind of a layman it is a direct artistic descendant of a sculpture on the upper part of a stele at Seibal.¹ Around the design is inscribed the presentation: Mexico Al Brasil En El Centenario De Su Independencia. On the other side is an eagle, treated in the Aztec manner with beautiful success, and the footstep of a man. Is this simply the Eagle of Mexico winging its flight with its greeting in the direction indicated by the footstep, south, toward Brazil? Or is it maybe more? Are we reminded of the footstep in the old Aztec legend suddenly appearing in the circle of cornmeal, indicating that the hero of the gods, Tezcatlipoca, is present among us, as the great bird of the Aztecs and of the Mexicans wings his flight? I do not know. I should like to know. But, what is more important, I can testify to the fascinating interest and virile beauty of the design, even though I do not know its significance. Such is the thrilling power of good design. It is not dependent on its meaning. It wings its flight. It would be well if this medal could be widely distributed not only through Mexico and Brazil but through every country of North and South America, and so wing its flight and carry its greeting to all of us.

Another of the three medals expresses the gratitude of the United States and the good feeling between the countries of North and South

¹ See H. J. Spinden, *Ancient Civilization of Mexico and Central America*, p. 89.

America on the occasion of the settlement of the difficulty, in 1915, between the United States and the leaders of the warring parties in Mexico, through the able services of the representatives of the A. B. C. powers, Argentine, Bolivia, Chile. It is by Janet Scudder. On one side three women stand together, the fine vertical lines of their classic drapery giving distinction and expressing a unity among the three which yet does not take away from their mutual independence. The reverse bears the wording of the inscription surrounded by a laurel wreath. I do not own this medal, I am sorry to say, nor do I know how I can get a copy of it. Why need its message of international appreciation of good will be restricted to the three eminent ambassadors of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile? Why might not that message well be conveyed also to any citizen of any country in North or South America who would appreciate it and respond to it?

The third medal was made by Hermon A. MacNeil as the medal of award for the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo in 1901. On one side, a girlish figure suggestive of the Exposition, leads a great bison garlanded with flowers. This celebrates the Exposition itself. On the other side, a North and a South American Indian with their distinctive features, garments and weapons smoke the peace pipe together. As the host in the Exposition, it is appropriate that the North American Indian is offering the pipe to his southern brother. In the center of their circular shields is simply indicated the outline of their respective continents. It is one of MacNeil's finest medals. Its special significance is clear; it is distinctively expressed; and it is important. This particular example of the medal had been awarded, and later strayed out on to the street and was picked up by some dealer. I bought it in a coin and curio store. It is now in friendly hands. But where can anyone get another? It is a medal of award and so cannot easily be gotten for love or money. It would render good service to the mutual understanding and good will of the peoples of the two continents if it could be struck in numbers and distributed through all the countries in which the descendants of these Indians lived and roamed.

What are these medals? Somewhat like military decorations but without ribbons, and much larger,—two, three inches in diameter. Again, they are somewhat like large coins. The commemorative half dollars in so far as they have artistic quality stand between coin and medal. People understand coins. They carry them around in their

pockets. The connection of the coin with history is also obvious. Coins are historical documents, as truly as ever were the clay tablets of Chaldea, the sheets of papyrus made from the reeds of the Nile, or the books of paper made from the linen rags of Europe or from the white pine trees of North America. Coins record in concise form certain historical facts in almost imperishable material. The American Numismatic Society is very literally an historical society and insofar as its studies reach down to the significance of coins and of coinage, it is primarily an historical society.

On the other hand the *way* in which these facts are recorded, the way the coins are designed, expresses the culture of the nation at the time as definitely as it records the facts. Coins are allied on the one side to the government, finance, and economics of their country by virtue of their use, and by virtue of their design and their execution to the culture, quality, and character of their people. In order that a people may understand another nation, it is as important for them to appreciate its culture as for them to know the facts of its politics or of its markets. In a coin the expression of the culture is dwarfed for the sake of commercial usefulness. In the medal the expression of the culture is freed from this subordination and the size is increased to two or three inches in diameter. From the cultural point of view, then, let us say that all are medals and that some medals are incidentally coins. For it is as a practical means for fostering the mutual understanding of peoples that all of these medals and coins alike are considered in this article.

It may well be said that information must prepare the way for understanding. The chief reason for the modesty of the mutual understanding in Pan America is the lack of information. The ordinary man and woman in the United States—those of whom there are 75,000,000 leading tolerably intelligent lives between the Atlantic and the Pacific—know that Argentine, Brazil, and Chile are countries in South America. For this knowledge grateful praise is due to the school geography. Half that number—advanced students!—know that Rio de Janeiro, probably on the coast, is the capital of Brazil, and that Lima is the capital of Peru—or is it? That is not enough information on which to base international understanding. But is my caricature of that knowledge unjust?

Great art will carry knowledge where mere instruction will not. It will make us care about the facts about which otherwise we would

not care. That Rembrandt painted the portrait of a man is enough to make that man famous though we do not even know his name. In addition to the large amount of able work that is being done by the Pan American Union, by the various national consulates, and by the chambers of commerce, something could be done by a widespread love of the art of the medal. Great art is like an eagle. It is powerful and it will carry. It would be worth while if great art in the inexpensive medallion form could introduce the personality of the great men of the various nations to the people of the other nations, of all the nations. If, for instance, James E. Fraser's medal of Theodore Roosevelt could be familiarly known in the homes and offices of South America as well as of North America. If the incomparable medallion of Robert Louis Stevenson by Augustus Saint Gaudens could be made available to every young boy and every grown-up boy who takes passage, book in hand, for *Treasure Island*; if the remarkable medallion portrait of Alexander Graham Bell by Theodore Spicer-Simson could interpret to any one and every one, north and south, what the inventor of the telephone was like and if an equally great portrait of Theodore N. Vail, that colossal business genius, of whom it has truly been said that taking the telephone from Bell, with it he made neighbors of a hundred million people, could introduce him personally to the people whom directly or indirectly he made neighbors. We like to see a man, to have a chance to size him up by sight. So too, if we here in the United States could be drawn to the great Bolívar by a great portrait of him on our desks and on our mantelpieces, convincingly true and available at such a price that he who votes may buy; or if we could be introduced by some great artist of Mexico to the superb Benito Juárez, Zapotec and Mexican, in ignorance of whom we are the poorer, it would count for the mutual understanding of the peoples of the western hemisphere.

The medal has at least in one respect a certain superiority to sculpture. Few can afford to own a statue. Public statues are seen occasionally, but not so continuously as a picture or a piece of good furniture in the home. A medal can be lived with. It can be kept on the desk or on the mantelpiece. It can even be carried around in the vest pocket. Further one can be changed for another and for yet another. Such continuous association with the medals (which means with the ideals and essential character) of a foreign people inevitably does something to foster a true understanding of that people.

Unfortunately, between the peoples of North and South America there is very little opportunity to use this means of mutual understanding. So far as the United States is concerned, the fault is not that there are no medals or artists capable of making fine medals. There are. We have a remarkable group of medallist artists. The trouble is that there is but little popular appreciation of this form of art, and therefore little or no market. Practically all our medals are medals of award and so cannot be bought by anyone who wants a medal simply for the love of it. In Europe this is quite otherwise. Are there any South American medals? Are there any medallist artists in those countries doing fine, characteristic work? Maybe in South as in North America fine medallist work is being done and kept from sight by the award fiction or by unfavorable market conditions. Whatever the situation may be, it would be well if whatever be necessary were done both in the North and in the South to spread the medallist art and its appreciation among the people. It is not so important to spread it among the people of wealth and of recognized artistic appreciation. These can buy statues. But it is very important to spread it among those who have only moderate or small incomes, those who can afford to spend only a dollar or two on art, with five dollars as a maximum, but who nonetheless have a rich human nature and a direct sincere devotion to the ideas and ideals of their time and place. Among these people to good art there will be quick and whole hearted response. *But it must be good art*, the best, work such as that of the three medals I have mentioned, work that it is an ever increasing joy to live with. *And it must be offered freely for sale to all*, not hoarded in the cabinets of dilettante collectors and in the desk drawers and pigeon-holes of prize winners.

WILLIAM CHAUNCEY LANGDON.

Director Historical Room of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, New York.

The Second Congress of American History and Geography was held in the city of Asunción, Paraguay, October 12-17, 1926. In response to an invitation for the United States to participate in the Congress, the Department of State designated George C. Kreeck, chargé d'affaires in Paraguay, as its representative. Seven Hispanic American countries were represented, namely: Argentina, Bolivia,

Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Paraguay, and Uruguay. The only other country sending delegates was Spain, but Dr. Eusebio Ayala acted for the Pan American Union. The various subjects considered by the congress were as follows:

Argentina

- American Revolution, Julio G. Games.
- Organization of Historic Archives, Filiberto Reula.
- Histories of the Books and Libraries of America, Nicanor Sarmiento.
- Organization of Historic Archives, Eduardo M. Farias.
- Virgin America; Study of American Races, Edmundo Peixoto.
- The Aborigines of America, Bernabé Castro.
- The Bibliography of American Nations, Nicolás Sarmiento.
- The American Academy of History and its Formation, Nicolás Sarmiento *et al.*
- Influence of river Navigation and the Economic Development of American Nations, José Vicente Santos.
- Character of the Conquest and Colonization of the New World, Fernando Rosello.
- The Legal Condition of the Indian, Abraham Heller.
- South American Cartographic Problems, Colonel Eduardo Weis.

Bolivia

- Study upon a Poem relative to American Independence, Victor Muñoz Reyes.
- Brief Studies upon the Jesuits and Franciscans in Paraguay and Bolivia, Cornelio Ríos.

Brazil

- The Origin of the Word "Brazil", National Historical Institute of Rio de Janeiro.

Cuba

- Geographical Dictionary of the Island of Cuba, José J. Marques.

Spain

- Christopher Columbus, Genoese, Ricardo Beltran y Rospide.

Uruguay

- The Influence of Geography upon History, Aquilles R. Oribe.

Venezuela

- Historic Studies, Luis R. Oramas.

Paraguay

- Influence of Tree-Clearing upon the Climate, Gustavo S. Escalada.
- Guaraní Folklore, Narciso R. Colmán.
- The Guaraní Language, Tomás Ozuna.
- Historic Antecedents that prepared the Emancipation Movement of the Province of Paraguay, Angel Vargas Peña.

The Bybayas, Robustiano Vera.

Dr. Francia and the Drama of Independence, J. Natalicio González.

Guahí Tetariguara: the National Hymn, Leopoldo A. Benítez.

The Cause of National Independence, Cesár Vasconcellos.

National Ways of Communication in Paraguay, Ing. Mario Marlotti.

The Population of Paraguay, Dr. Adolfo Ritter.

Chemistry in Paraguay before its Independence, Gustavo M. Crovato.

Orthography of the Guaraní Language, Guillermo Tell Bertoni.

The Discovery of the Paraguayan Chaco, Andrew Pride.

The Nationality of Christopher Columbus, Professor Carlos Mingo.

Points upon the Climate of Paraguay, Dr. Luís Enrique Migone.

Former Rivers of the Chaco, Socrates A. Coveló.

Other papers submitted later were as follows:

Paraguay in the continental Geography, Juan L. Mallorquin.

Geographical Dictionary, Joaquín Llovera.

Note in Vindication of Lozano, Padre Pablo Cabrera.

Three Celebrated Conquistadores, Luís R. Oramas.

Where Was the Founder of Buenos Aires Born?, Dr. Enrique de Gandía.

Prehistoric Art of the Guaraníes, Pablo Albornó.

Political Americana, Dr. Cecilio Baez.

In the course of its deliberations, the congress adopted resolutions looking toward the prohibition of teaching in any country historical or geographical views that might wound the sensibilities of any other country; and better cultural and intellectual relations. Two other resolutions adopted by the congress favored the preparation of historical texts scientifically prepared and well documented and the publication of the documents preserved in the national, municipal, and local archives of each country.

The usual social and entertainment features were offered by the Paraguayan Government. These consisted of luncheons, an audience with the president, various trips, closing with a banquet which included a number of government officials and persons of note.

The President of the Congress declared in his closing remarks:

Thanks to the cultural work of continental congresses, our republics are emerging bit by bit from that state of indifference which some maintain with respect to others. These international congresses will have the virtue of bettering political and commercial relations, and perhaps will influence the adoption among the republics of free trade treaties, so that with economic and scientific interests harmonizing, the firmest moral and material solidarity may be established as a corollary among nations which . . . cherish the same aims and follow common ideals of progress and well-being.

Following the closing of the congress, Dr. Nicolás Sarmiento of Buenos Aires delivered an address upon "The Ideal Pan Americanism".

As has so often been the case in gatherings of a similar nature, at which delegates from the United States and from Hispanic countries were present, the delegate of the former country was at a disadvantage, because he could not, by reason of the language barrier, take as active a part in the deliberations as might have been desirable. On the other hand, the Spanish delegate was very active and influential. It was due, in fact, to an objection raised by the latter that the Congress refused to consider a work by the Argentinian scholar, Vicente Rossi, on the ground that in arguing for an American language and culture, this was in effect a reflection on the mother country. Rossi's work, was divided into four parts, namely: Latin America; A National Language for American States; the Beginning of the Invader in America; and The Revision of the History of America. The Spanish delegate also introduced a resolution favoring the exchange of Spanish teachers and professors with those of the schools, colleges, and universities of Hispanic countries, as a means of renewing the kinship between the mother country and Hispanic America. The final resolution as passed by the congress included the United States. Apparently, the congress was largely controlled by the Argentinian, Brazilian, and Paraguayan groups. The third congress will convene in Rio de Janeiro, in 1928.

The Smithsonian Institution in its *Report on the International Exchange Service, 1926*, contains interesting data for various parts of the world. For Hispanic American countries and British Guiana it reports boxes of printed materials sent thither as follows:

<i>Country</i>	<i>No. of Boxes</i>
Argentina	55
Brazil	41
British Guiana	2
Chile	26
Colombia	16
Costa Rica	11
Cuba	7
Ecuador	2

Haiti	2
Mexico	7
Peru	15
Uruguay	14
Venezuela	9
TOTAL	207

Sets of the official documents of the United States are forwarded through the Exchange Service of the Smithsonian Institution to 101 foreign depositories. The governments receiving these documents send to the United States in return copies of their own publications which are deposited in the Library of Congress. Hispanic American depositories for the full set of the documents of the United States are as follows:

ARGENTINA: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores, Buenos Aires.

BRAZIL: Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

BUENOS AIRES: Biblioteca de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata. (Depository of the Province of Buenos Aires.)

CHILE: Biblioteca del Congreso Nacional, Santiago.

COLOMBIA: Biblioteca Nacional, Bogotá.

COSTA RICA: Oficina de Depósito y Canje Internacional de Publicaciones, San José.

CUBA: Secretaría de Estado (Asuntos Generales y Canje Internacional), Habana.

MEXICO: Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico.

PERU: Biblioteca Nacional, Lima.

URUGUAY: Oficina de Canje Internacional de Publicaciones, Montevideo.

VENEZUELA: Biblioteca Nacional, Caracas.

A number of countries or agencies receive only partial sets of the documents of the United States. During the year 1926, Aguascalientes, Argentina, California Baja, Chihuahua, Coahuila, Colima, Santo Domingo, Durango, Guerrero, Jalisco, Mexico, Nuevo León, Durango, Guerrero, Jalisco, California Baja, Mexico, Nuevo León, San Luís Potosí, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Vera Cruz, and Yucatan, each entered into immediate exchange of its Journal with the government of the United States.

Those wishing to make use of this service to Hispanic America will find a circular issued by the Smithsonian Institution of service. This is as follows:

In effecting the world-wide distribution of its first publications, the Smithsonian Institution established foreign agencies by means of which it was enabled

to materially assist institutions and individuals of this country in the transmission of their publications abroad, and also foreign societies and individuals in distributing their publications in the United States.

In more recent years the Smithsonian Institution has been charged with the duty of conducting the official Exchange Bureau of the United States Government, through which the publications authorized by Congress are exchanged for those of other governments; and by a formal treaty it acts as intermediary between the learned bodies and scientific and literary societies of this and other countries for the reception and transmission of their publications.

Attention is called to the fact that this is an international and not a domestic exchange service, and that it is designed to facilitate exchanges between the United States and other countries only. As publications from domestic sources for addresses in Hawaii, the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, and other territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States do not come within the designation "international," they are not accepted by the Institution for transmission through the service.

Packages prepared in accordance with the rules enumerated below will be received by the Smithsonian Institution from individuals or institutions of learning in the United States and forwarded to their destinations abroad through the various exchange bureaus or agencies in other countries. Many of those bureaus and agencies will likewise receive packages of publications from correspondents in their countries for distribution as gifts or exchanges to correspondents in the United States and its dependencies and will forward them to Washington, after which the Institution will transmit them to their destinations by mail free of cost to the recipients.

On receipt of a consignment from a domestic source it is assigned a "record number," which number is, for identification purposes, placed on each package contained therein. After the packages have been recorded they are packed in boxes with publications from other senders and are forwarded by freight to the bureaus or agencies abroad which have undertaken to distribute exchanges in those countries. To Great Britain and Germany shipments are made weekly; to France and Italy, semimonthly; and to all other countries consignments are forwarded at intervals not exceeding a month.

The Institution assumes no responsibility in the transmission of packages intrusted to its care, but at all times endeavors to forward exchanges safely and as promptly as possible. Especial attention should be called in this connection to the time ordinarily required for the delivery of packages sent through the exchange service. To Great Britain and Germany, for example, where weekly shipments are made, the average time for a package to reach its destination is about six weeks. To those countries to which shipments are made at semimonthly and monthly intervals, the time of delivery is, of course somewhat longer, depending on the distance and also whether packages are received at the Institution immediately before or after a shipment. If, therefore, advance notices are mailed by senders, mention should be made of the above facts in order that consignees may expect some delay between the receipt of notices and the arrival of packages. In cases where greater dispatch is desired, publications should be forwarded by the senders to their foreign destinations direct by mail.

RULES

The rules governing the Smithsonian International Exchange Service are as follows:

1. Consignments from correspondents in the United States containing packages for transmission abroad should be addressed—

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
International Exchanges,
Washington, D. C.

and forwarded with carriage charges to Washington prepaid.

2. In forwarding a consignment the sender should mail a letter to the Institution stating by what route it is being shipped, and the number of boxes or parcels comprising the shipment. A list giving the name and address of each consignee should also be furnished. It is important that this request be complied with in order that a detailed record of the contents of consignments may be kept in the files of the exchange office for use in answering inquiries concerning the forwarding of packages.

3. Packages should be legibly and fully addressed, using, when practicable, the language of the country to which they are to be forwarded. In order to avoid any possible dispute as to ownership, names of individuals should be omitted from packages intended for societies and other establishments.

4. Packages should be securely wrapped, using cardboard if necessary, to protect plates from crumpling.

5. Letters are not permitted in exchange packages.

6. If donors desire acknowledgments, packages may contain receipt-forms to be signed and returned by the establishment or individual addressed. Should publications be desired in exchange, a request to that effect may be printed on the receipt-form or on the package.

7. The work carried on by the Interchange Service is not in any sense of a commercial nature, but is restricted to the transmission of publications sent as exchanges or donations. Books sold or ordered through the trade are, therefore, necessarily excluded.

8. Specimens are not accepted for distribution, except when permission has been obtained from the Institution.

COMMUNICATION

To the Editor of the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW :

Sir :

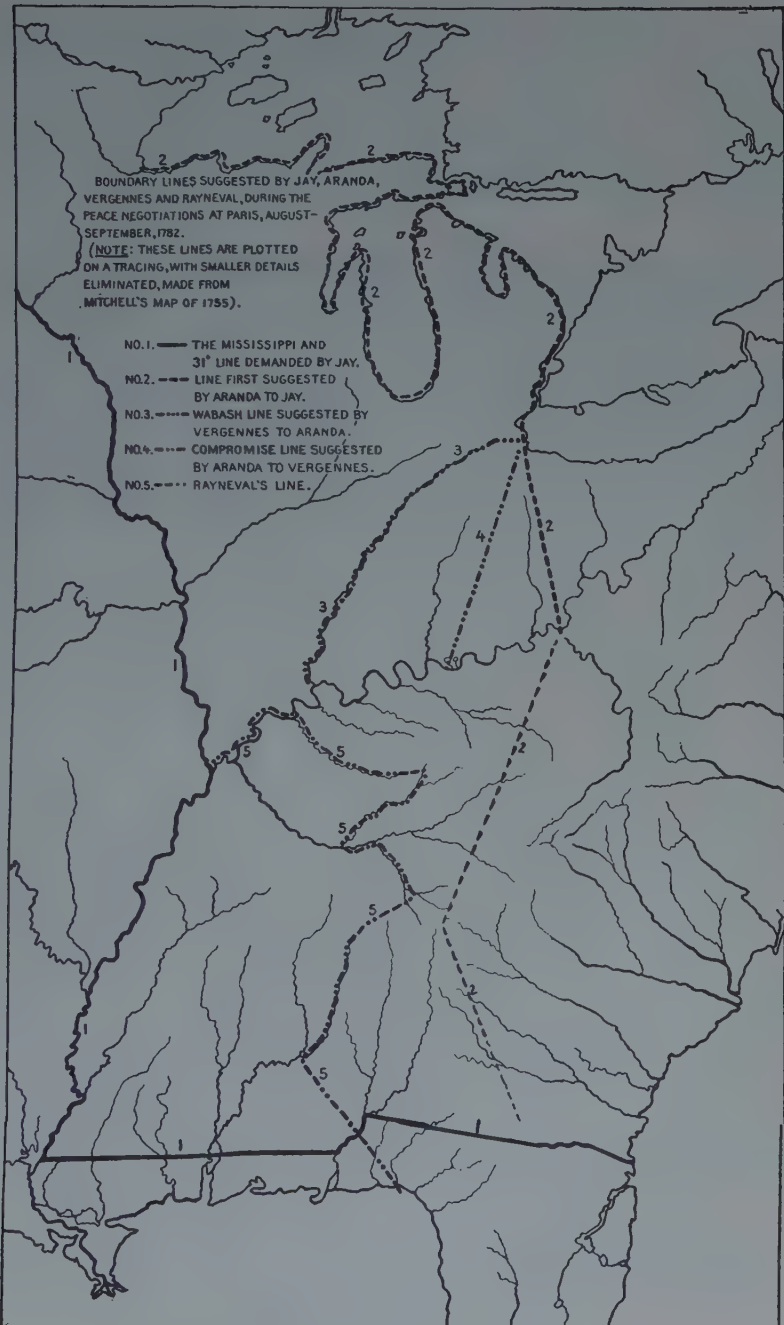
In my recently published *Pinckney's Treaty, a Study of America's Advantage from Europe's Distress, 1783-1800* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1926), occur, among others, two maps, concerning which I should like at this place to make certain corrections and comments relative to the Proposed Spanish-American Boundary Lines, 1782.

Opposite page 40 is a map (Map I) showing boundary lines suggested by Jay, Aranda, Vergennes, and Rayneval in September, 1782. An error has been made in the line denominated Number 2 on that map by plotting it on an English edition of Mitchell's map instead of on a French edition which, as Aranda notes, was the one actually used. This line (No. 2, on my map) is described by Aranda as running from the mouth of the Great Kanawha to *el recodo mas entrante* of South Carolina. On the English editions of Mitchell's map *el recodo mas entrante* of South Carolina is easily identified as the point where the thirty-third parallel of north latitude crosses the Savannah River, not far below Augusta. But on the French edition used by the negotiators the phrase *el recodo mas entrante* cannot be interpreted to be at this place, because the boundaries of South Carolina have been altered from Mitchell's original map. On the French edition *el recodo mas entrante* lies at a point nearly equidistant from the headwaters of the Savannah, Euphrasee, and Flint rivers, that is to say in present day topography, roughly in the vicinity of the northwesternmost corner of the present state of Georgia. On the map herewith presented Line 2 has been corrected accordingly.

Line 3 represents the boundary suggested for the United States north of the Ohio River by Vergennes. It is based on the following description by Aranda, as printed by J. F. Yela Utrilla:¹

Tomó S. E.^a el Mapa que aún tenía de Jay, lo repasamos y me dijo que como para contentar a los Americanos sería menester considerales a su espalda más terrenos, podría yo trasladar la línea que pasa por la junción del *Gran Conhaway* con el *Obío* [*sic*] a la inferior junción del *Wabache* con el *Obío* [*sic*]; pues de ésta al *Misisipi* bien quedaría distancia. Propuse a S. E.^a que sería bastante

¹ *España ante la independencia de los Estados Unidos* (Lérida, 1925), II. 360.



bajarla sólo a pasar entre los dos lagos, que hay en el curso intermedio de los dos afluentes sobredichos, en cuio hueco está escrito *Etang Castor*. Replicóme, que no opondría a ello, pero como el espíritu de los Americanos sería el de traficar por rios interiores, se resistirían el perder el *Wabache*, quando salvándolo por la línea divisoria más baja, les quedaría integro hasta el *Obío* [*sic*] y éste útil en una grande extensión hasta la espalda de las colonias, como igualmente todo el *gran Conhaway*, con cuia atribución tendrían que callar, y moderar en lo demás sus pretensiones.

The first sentence of this quotation merely states that Vergennes shifted to the mouth of the Wabash the southern end of that portion of the line proposed by Aranda to run from Lake Erie to the mouth of the Kanawha; it does not state that the line thus shifted would *follow* the Wabash. The third sentence describes a line which does include the Wabash; whether it is a fuller description of that indicated by Vergennes in the first sentence, or represents really a rectification of it is at best not indisputably clear; and it has been suggested to me that the words *quando salvándolo* and following indicate a new and separate line to include the Wabash and a modification of Vergennes's first proposal. I incline to believe that it is a fuller description rather than a rectification. It has not seemed necessary to indicate on the map more than what was, at any rate, Vergennes's line as finally described by Aranda. It would be interesting to discover the French edition of Mitchell's Map with the lines on it which were drawn by the negotiators.

Opposite page 77 is inserted on one plate a series of six small maps (Map III) indicating successive boundary concessions acceptable to Spain, 1784-1787. In Map A by error the Kentucky River was taken as the boundary instead of the Tennessee (Cherokee). Map A of this series should be identical with Map B, and is therefore supererogatory. Thus corrected it would appear on Map A that most of Kentucky and the greater part of Tennessee was left outside the area claimed by Spain. On Map F of the same series an additional concession should be indicated beyond that drawn on the map; Gardoqui's instructions of 1787, part of which are published by Manuel Serrano y Sanz,² allowed him to reduce the corridor of territory along the left bank of the Mississippi to include Natchez, bounded on the north by a line "two or three or more leagues" above Natchez, and extending east

² *El Brigadier Jaime Wilkinson y sus tratos con España para la independencia del Kentucky* (Madrid, 1915), p. 15.

from the Mississippi to the Amit River of d'Anville's Map, which latter stream might be accepted instead of the Pearl as the eastern boundary of the corridor. Thus corrected, this series of maps should indicate the line of the Flint, Euphrasee, and Tennessee Rivers as the maximum claim of Spain presented in 1784-1785, and the Natchez corridor as the minimum claim acceptable, under certain conditions, to Spain, in 1787.

The title to the map opposite p. 119 might more precisely be entitled "Spain's maximum and minimum boundary claims and proposed neutral Indian barrier state, 1785-1786, as indicated on a copy of Buell's Map in the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid".

I am indebted for corrections and suggestions in the study of these maps to Colonel Lawrence Martin, Chief of the Division of Maps of the Library of Congress, to Dr. C. O. Paullin, of the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, and to Dr. James A. Robertson, Editor of this REVIEW.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

NOTES ON RECENT PORTUGUESE, BRAZILIAN, AND OTHER PUBLICATIONS

The first faculties of law were established in Brazil at Pernambuco and São Paulo in 1827, under the government of Emperor Dom Pedro I, Visconde de São Leopoldo being secretary of the interior. Dr. Netto Campello, director of the federal faculty of Pernambuco, decided to celebrate that date through the publication of a large work entrusted to the great Brazilian lawyer, Professor Clovis Bevilacqua, the author of the Civil Code of Brazil, and subsequent volumes of Commentaries. This author will write about the juridical evolution of the country. A special contribution was also asked of Dr. Manoel de Oliveira Lima, who has, accordingly, prepared an article on the first treatise on international law adopted by the Pernambuco faculty, namely, the *Elementos do Direito das Gentes segundo as Doutrinas dos Escriptores Modernos*, by Pedro Autran da Matta Albuquerque. This book was published in 1851.

Suggestion has been made, and very favorably received, of solemnly celebrating this year the third centenary of the selection by Count Johann Moritz of Nassau-Siegen, governor-general of Pernambuco by appointment of the West Indies Company, of the port of Recife as the capital of the Dutch settlements in Brazil. These settlements once extended to a third of Portuguese America, and included besides Angola and São Thomé in Africa. They were recovered by Portugal after the separation from Spain in 1640, which reawakened the Portuguese feelings of independence. Mario Melo, Gilberto Freyre, and Estavão Pinto, and a few others, are at the head of this movement. These scholars plan the publication of a comprehensive work on that historic period, for which there is plenty of material, and the erection of a statue of that learned and wise prince, whose administration was as tolerant as it was enlightened. The first representative assembly met under the latter and he landed in Brazil with a corps of scientists and artists, including Piso, Markgraf, Post, and others, who did excellent work.

A Cambridge History of Hispanic America in four volumes has been planned. Dr. Harold Temperley has asked the present compiler to coöperate in its compilation.

Mr. Mendes Corrêa, Dean of the Faculty of Sciences and Letters, and Director of the Institute of Anthropology of the University of Oporto, is one of the most prolific and learned writers in Portugal today. He has recently published a remarkable book, namely, *Homo, with Modern Studies on the Origin of Man* (Coimbra, Atlantida, 1926); a few pamphlets on "The Portuguese and the Invention of the Alphabet Relating to the Inscriptions of Glozel and Alvão"; "Le Normal Delinquant et la Crise Morale", in the *Revue Anthropologique* of Paris, July-September, 1926; and the *Petroglifo do Guerreiro Lusitano no Monte do Castello do Penafiel* (Caminha, 1927). He is the author of *Os Povos Primitivos da Lusitania* (Porto, 1924), and the *Anthropologia nas suas Relações com a Arte* (Porto, 1925).

Two volumes of an issue of three have already appeared of the *Letters of Father Antonio Vieira*, the famous Jesuit, considered one of the greatest minds of Portugal in the seventeenth century. The historical commentaries are the work of J. Lucio d'Azevedo, the renowned historian who wrote the *Life of Vieira* in two volumes, a study on Pombal, and a first rate book on the "Jews in Portugal". The first edition of the *Letters*, was published in Rome in the eighteenth century.

Three short essays have been issued by Costa Caldas, on Portuguese classics (Sá de Miranda, Camões, and Bernardes).

Hippolyto Raposo has published under the title of *Ana a Kalunga*, his vigorous and dramatic African impressions, written in a most beautiful style.

The widow and the literary executors of Antonio Sardinha, the late leader of the Portuguese "Integralismo", or traditional monarchical and Catholic party, opposed to what are called constitutional fictions, are issuing several of his works hitherto unpublished. To *Ao Ritmo da Ampulheta*, a collection of historical, political, and sociological essays, three volumes have just been added, namely, *Na Feira dos*

Mitos, Ideas e Factos, another collection of similar essays; *Era uma Vez um Menino*, which consists of elegies inspired by the death of his little son; and *Durante a Fogueira, Paginas de Guerra*. Other volumes will follow. Antonio Sardinha died in 1924, at the early age of thirty-six. He was a born fighter for his ideas, and possessed a highly cultivated intelligence. His untimely death was a loss to Portuguese letters, and for the Portuguese future, for he was distinguished by his enthusiasm, bravery, and breadth of vision. His friends plan the foundation of an institute of studies, to bear his name, and to perpetuate his ideals. The plan includes a Peninsular Alliance, that is, the Spanish-Portuguese and Hispanic-American Entente, and differing from the Iberian Union which seeks to weld into one the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal.

Mr. Carlos Pereyra, the well-known Mexican writer, author of a good number of historical and political books, and lately of a history of Spanish America in eight volumes (Saturnino Calleja, Madrid), wrote recently a short essay on the two expressions "Hispanoamérica e Iberoamérica", which was issued by La Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad de Santiago de Galicia. His wife, Maria Enriqueta C. de Pereyra, is also a very distinguished writer, certainly the most remarkable "femme de lettres" of Hispanic America. Her novel *El Secreto* has just been translated into French and into Portuguese, the latter version by Mrs. Fidelino de Figueiredo, and she has added to her list of productions, a new volume of poetry, *Album Sentimental*. Her work comprises poems, novels, and admirable tales, and has a part, and not the least interesting, for children, namely "Mirliton", and "Castillo de Polvo".

Among interesting books lately published in Brazil are the following:

Feriados do Brazil (The Holidays in Brazil), by Carlos Xavier Paes Barreto, a magistrate and writer who lives in Espirito Santo, and explains in two volumes the historical meaning of such civic commemorations.

A Passo de Gigante (The Giant's Footsteps), and *Brasilianos e Yankees*, by Helio Lobo, former consul-general in New York, now minister plenipotentiary in Montevideo, both relating to the United States, and their economic and cultural intercourse with Brazil, and containing judicious remarks, and valuable information.

The two volumes of the *Historia Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas* (Expeditions to the Hinterland), a scholarly work by Mr. Affonso d'Escragnolle Taunay, director of the Museu Paulista. This is accompanied by a volume of old maps, and has been followed by other books, namely: *Historia Seiscentista de São Paulo*, *Na Era das Bandeiras*, and reprints of certain old and rare works including Gaspar de Madre de Deus, *Memorias da Capitania de São Vicente*, and Antonil, *Cultura e Opulencia do Brazil*. The last volume of the series is entitled *Ouro, Índios, Pedras*.

A large and detailed description of public and private charities in Rio de Janeiro, since the foundation of the city, by Ataulpho de Paiva, president of the court of appeals, and a member of the Brazilian Academy; and a book especially on the "Protection of the Child (1500-1922)", by Dr. Moncorvo Filho.

Avifauna e Flora nos Costumes Superstições e Lendas Brasileiras e Americanas, by the Rev. C. Teschauer, S. J. (Porto Alegre).

A report of Carneiro Leão, former director of public instruction in the Federal District of Brazil, relating to his pedagogical and social activity through which he tried to strengthen the Pan American feeling, founding new schools under the name of the United States, Argentina, and great names of the New World; also a report from Mr. Ulysses Pernambucano, on normal teaching in Pernambuco.

O Occaso do Imperio (The Downfall of the Empire), by Oliveira Vianna, an admirable essay of political psychology.

Paulistica, a curious historical sketch by Paulo Prado. He also published the report of the visit of the Inquisition to Brazil in the end of the sixteenth century, namely, *Visitação do Santo Officio a Bahia*.

A new novel by Gustavo Barroso, the author of *Terra del Sol*, equally full of local color and flavor, under the title of *Tigão do Inferno*.

As a sort of complement to this new study of northeastern Brazil, the land of droughts and human resistance, is the *Joaseiro do Padre Cicero, Scenas e Quadros do Fanatismo do Nordeste* (São Paulo, 1926), by Lourenço Filho, an emotional book relating to a real case of social pathology. It sets forth the powerful, nearly magic, influence of a singular type of priest on the ignorant, illiterate population which flocks to his place.

A volume of essays, namely, *A Arvore do Bem e do Mal*, by Barbosa Lima Sobrinho.

The book, however, which has lately deserved very great praise, is the *Life of Visconde de Mauá*, that enterprising man to whom Brazil owes its first railways into the interior, its first line of navigation on the Amazon, and its first cable to Europe, besides many other public utilities, like tramways, gas and dockyards. The author is Mr. Alberto de Faria, a very successful business man, and a gifted writer, who has been appointed ambassador to Japan. The work is not a chronological biography; it is better than that, as it gives an extensive and comprehensive view of the political and social activities of the time, in eastern South America. Mauá, who was born in 1813, and died in 1889, was a self-made man. He started as a clerk in the English commercial house of Caruthers, of which he soon became, in his twenties, the manager, the house establishing agencies in several provinces of Brazil, and abroad in the United States

and in Europe. Mauá was employed by the Brazilian government, as the instrument of its financial control in the River Plate, and he played in that way a strong diplomatic rôle. He succeeded in maintaining the prestige of the Brazilian empire, but was opposed to the Uruguayan and Paraguayan wars, which he tried to avoid. He afterwards failed in business, because of his honesty. He was conspicuous for this characteristic throughout his life, and furnishes an example, as pointed out by the author, to the younger generations of his country. The book is written with great admiration for the old "Captain of Industry", as Mauá would be called today, and contains numerous personal references which contribute to make it highly attractive, although it is not written altogether according to strict literary rules.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST

[From time to time, it is the intention to publish in this section bibliographical lists of living authors. Dr. Chapman, who it will be remembered, was one of the initiators of this REVIEW, was, therefore, requested to submit a list of his writings, whether in book or other form. The following list reflects his activities since 1911.—Eds.]

Now and then in the busy game of doing something new it is well to stop and see what one has accomplished in the past. This is an attempt by the writer to list his publications during a residence of nineteen years at the University of California. The following is a chart showing graphically the number of publications in each year since the record began in 1911; in the chart "B" stands for a book, "B'kl't" for a booklet, and "A" for an article:

1911	AA	1920	AAAAAAAAAAAAA
1912		1921	B AAAAAA
1913	AAA	1922	AAAAAAAAAAAAA
1914		1923	AAAAAA
1915	AAAAAA	1924	AAAAAA
1916	B AAAAAAAA	1925	AAAA
1917 B'kl't	AAAAAAAAAA	1926	AAAAAAAAA
1918	B AAAAAAAAAAAAA	1927	B AA
1919	B AAAAAAAAAAAAAA		

By counting republications, even though revised, as one item, and by giving a single entry for four years of editing papers published in

the *Grizzly Bear Magazine* this yields a total of five books, one booklet, and ninety-nine articles. The present survey might be added to make the hundredth article, and, indeed, by the time it appears it may possibly have several companions not at present listed, growing out of articles already written but not reduced to satisfactory form or of articles that may yet be written, though not at present contemplated.

One comment may be made about the style employed in entering articles. Where the article is in a book the title of the article is followed by a comma, the word "in", and the name of the book; if in a periodical, a period and the name of the periodical follows the title of the article; if the periodical is an obscure publication or a newspaper the place of issue is given.

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A History of the Cuban Republic: A Study in Hispanic American Politics. New York (Macmillan Company). 1927. 685 pages.

BOOKLET

A Californian in South America. Berkeley, Calif. (Lederer, Street, and Zeus Company). 1917. 59 pages.

Contains speeches, reports, and articles of the writer during his trip of 1916 to South America. All are included separately in the list of articles. In the case of this booklet, place and date of publication are omitted in entry of articles.

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